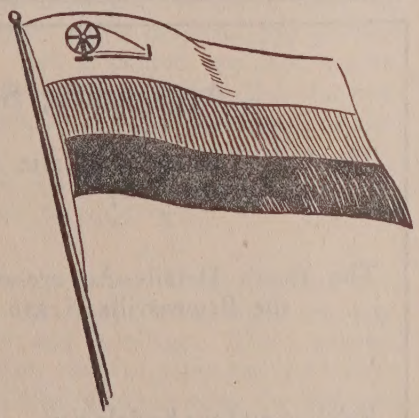
THE POLICE—LAW-BREAKERS?

# THE WORLD TOMORROW

TWENTY-FIVE CENTS A COPY TWO DOLLARS A YEAR

VOL. XIII MARCH, 1930 No. 3

## INDIA FREE?



*Articles by*

Kirby Page

C. F. Andrews

Reginald A. Reynolds

and others

THE WORLD TOMORROW, INC.
52 VANDERBILT AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y.

# The World Tomorrow

VOL. XIII March, 1930 No. 3


*Copyright, 1930, The World Tomorrow, Inc.*

## CONTENTS


| | PAGE |
|---|---|
| Editorials | 99 |
| Will India Become a Lost Dominion? By Kirby Page | 104 |
| Indian Leaders Demand Independence | 107 |
| Mahatma Gandhi on Violence | 109 |
| India—Symbol of Eastern Aspiration. By C. F. Andrews | 110 |
| An Appeal to Our Fellow-Citizens | 111 |
| The Chances of Indian Unity. By Reginald A. Reynolds | 112 |
| My Impressions of America. By A. Fenner Brockway | 114 |
| Lapse *(verse)*. By Helen Maring | 117 |
| Not in the Headlines | 118 |
| Preacher Without Authority: *The Story of John Haynes Holmes* | 119 |
| Mysticism and Social Passion. By Vida D. Scudder | 122 |
| Clippings | 126 |
| The Police—Law-Keepers or Law-Breakers? By Don M. Chase | 127 |
| Findings | 130 |
| Religious Training for Children of Liberals. By Elsa P. Kimball | 131 |
| Resurrection and Ascension *(verse)*. By Earl D. Todd | 134 |
| Labor Around the World | 134 |
| The Book End | 135 |
| Correspondence | 139 |
| The Last Page | 142 |


*Published the first day of each month at* 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, by THE WORLD TOMORROW, INC.

THE WORLD TOMORROW is on file in most public and college libraries and is indexed in the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature* and in *Contents*.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Single Copies, 25 cents; $2 per year; Canada, $2.25; foreign, $2.50. Orders for copies, subscriptions and all correspondence should be sent to THE WORLD TOMORROW, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York City. British representative, Edgar Dunstan, 11 Lincoln's Inn Fields, London. Annual Subscriptions, 10s. post free. Entered as Second Class Matter, Sept. 30, 1926, at the Post Office of New York, under the act of March 3, 1879.

## Who's Who in This Issue

**Art Young**, who drew the Indian National Flag, appearing on the cover of this issue, is a well known artist and cartoonist.

**C. F. Andrews**, THE WORLD TOMORROW's foreign correspondent in India, is a friend and co-worker of Mahatma Gandhi.

**Reginald A. Reynolds** is a British journalist living in India.

**A. Fenner Brockway, M.P.**, who recently returned to England after a visit to the United States, is an outstanding member of the Independent Labour Party.

**Helen Maring** contributes frequent verse to this and other magazines.

**Vida D. Scudder** is professor of English Literature at Wellesley College and an authority on the mysticism of St. Francis.

**Don M. Chase** is a student at Union Theological Seminary.

**Elsa P. Kimball** is associate professor of Sociology at Smith College.

**Earl D. Todd** is one of the younger American poets.

**J. Vijaya-Tunga**, formerly associated with the University of Calcutta and editor of the "Island Review" (Ceylon), is at present lecturing in this country.

**Francis A. Henson**, until recently secretary of the Student Division of the Y. M. C. A., is now doing graduate work at Yale University.

**Wilbert Snow** is the author of *The Inner Harbor*.

**Coley Taylor** is a member of the editorial staff of the E. P. Dutton Publishing Company.

**Paul Jones** is Acting Bishop in the southern Ohio diocese of the Episcopal Church.


# The World Tomorrow, Inc.

EDITORS
KIRBY PAGE
DEVERE ALLEN
REINHOLD NIEBUHR

OFFICERS
JOHN NEVIN SAYRE, PRESIDENT
KENNETH E. WALSER, TREASURER
CAROLINE B. LA MONTE, SECRETARY

GLADYS E. MEYERAND, ASSISTANT EDITOR
A. ALBERT MACLEOD, BUSINESS MANAGER

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

| | |
|---|---|
| SARAH N. CLEGHORN | PAUL JONES |
| PAUL H. DOUGLAS | RUFUS M. JONES |
| SHERWOOD EDDY | FRANCIS J. McCONNELL |
| H. C. ENGELBRECHT | A. J. MUSTE |
| ZONA GALE | RICHARD ROBERTS |
| JOHN HAYNES HOLMES | NORMAN THOMAS |

EDITORIAL COUNCIL

| | |
|---|---|
| CONTRIBUTING EDITORS AND | F. ERNEST JOHNSON |
| SAMUEL M. CAVERT | DAVID R. PORTER |
| AMY BLANCHE GREENE | JOHN NEVIN SAYRE |
| CHARLES S. JOHNSON | RIDGELY TORRENCE |
| JOSHUA LIEBERMAN | HENRY P. VAN DUSEN |

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS

| | |
|---|---|
| A. MAUDE ROYDEN (ENGLAND) | C. F. ANDREWS (INDIA) |
| ARNOLD WOLFERS (GERMANY) | FRANCIS P. MILLER, (GENEVA, SWITZERLAND) |
| AGNES MACPHAIL, M.P. (CANADA) | |

| | |
|---|---|
| MARVIN BENDINER, SUBSCRIPTION MANAGER | SOPHIE TREFON, EDITORIAL SECRETARY |
| LILLIE BECKER, BOOKKEEPER | MILDRED OLSTER, BUSINESS SECRETARY |


## Appearing Soon

The United States and Latin America—A Constructive Policy — *J. W. Garner*

The Death Detail—An eye-witness account of the Brownsville Negro executions — *William Pickens*

Religion and the Sociologist — *Newell L. Sims*

Insults I Have Endured — *Howard Thurman*

The Army of Men Without Hate — *H. C. Engelbrecht*

Forward Trends in the Orient—A Series of informative articles on the East by outstanding expert observers.

# The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. XIII March, 1930 No. 3


# Editorials

## 500 Million-Dollar Incomes

In 1921 there were only 31 men in America with an income of a million dollars a year. In 1928 there were 496. What more could be said about the glories of human progress except perhaps that 28 of this number have an income of five million or more per year? Meanwhile the army of unemployed pound our street pavements looking for work—poor devils whose fifty-five years have robbed them of the strength and stamina needed by the modern machine, who anticipate the premature evening of their life with anxious forebodings, while little merchants mourn the loss of their independence as they become mute units in some chain store scheme which supports one or two of these millionaires. But, of course, one must not be sentimental about all those little people. It is the way of history, as of nature, to sacrifice the many for the few.

"So careful of the type she seems
So careless of the single life."

The difficulty with this consoling thought is that one can not be sure that the lucky twenty-eight are any better for their power and privilege. Their women folk spend much of their time in petty social rivalry. Their children have difficulty overcoming the temptations which beset the offspring of wealthy parents. They themselves become progressively less intelligent as their eminence silences the critical voice of friends and increases the number of fawning sycophants who accentuate their vices by their uncritical praise. Mr. Brisbane thinks they serve a very useful purpose by their philanthropies. A few of them, it is true, are genuinely philanthropic. But the total philanthropies of America in 1929 totalled only two and a half billion out of a national income of ninety-four billion. The stock exchange enriched men by a daily two and a half billion dollars on more than one day in 1929. You cannot make reason out of these statistics. We are simply not living in a reasonable world.

## Prosperity—the Other Side

From the White House and official Washington come repeated assurances that employment is increasing, wages rising or remaining stable, and business good. Thousands of Americans will receive every such communiqué with lifted brows and very probably an inelegant but expressive "Yeah?"

Such will be the response of women workers in the cotton manufacturing industry. For the Department of Labor's figures, recently revealed, indicate a steady drop of their wages from 1924 to 1928, inclusive, amounting to 13 per cent. During 1928 the average full-time weekly earnings of 38,000 cotton mills in the eleven states covered by the Labor Department's study were—prosperously—$15.66. Says the report: "Not one of the twelve occupations for which women's earnings were reported in 1928 escaped a decline from the 1924 figure." Interestingly, wages in these classes of labor did not drop much in the South, but they did drop extensively in the North. The report further points out that "this lessening of the differential between the two sections by a decline in the North instead of an advance in the South worked to the great disadvantage of women's earnings in the industry as a whole"—thus lending further evidence to the prime importance of organizing the Southern workers and driving wages upward in the feudal regions of Tennessee, the Carolinas, and elsewhere.

The aftermath of the Wall Street crash is already apparent in wage scale changes, according to the Labor Bureau, Inc., "in spite of all propaganda to the contrary that is being issued by the prophets of prosperity." The trend during most of 1929 was toward increasing wage scales, whereas by the end of the year this tendency was experiencing a definite set-back.

Senator Walsh of Massachusetts has been investigating veterans' loans as an index to prosperity. He discovered that loans based on war service certificates for last November and December were twice as many as those of the same months the year **before**, and were

double the amount. From the first to the ninth of January these loans reached the astonishing figure of $15,000,000, more than ever previously given in a month.

The Riverside and Dan River Cotton Mills, Inc., of Danville, Va., the third largest cotton manufacturing concern in the country, has recently put into effect a wage cut of 10 per cent, involving 6,000 workers whose average wage is $18.00 a week. We recommend this cut to the attention of President Hoover, now he has returned from his Florida fishing trip, in the light of the pledges he so blithely collected and gave out to the nation to the effect that employers would not lower wages.

A moderate skepticism might be justified on the part of the girls who work in many of the five-and-ten-cent stores. The Department of Labor charges that these firms often fail to pay wages "sufficient to procure the necessities of life." Twelve dollars, actually, is the middle point in the range of these girls' weekly earnings in the last quarter of 1928. Of 6,000 girls in 179 limited price stores scattered through eighteen states and five additional cities, only seven per cent earned as much as $18.00 while 25 per cent earned less than $10.00 and 70 per cent less than $15.00.

No real solution for the problems of wage injustice and unemployment can be found in facile over-simplifications that reassure only the gullible and the overfed.

## Fleet Maneuvers at London

Mr. Hoover declared "they cannot go too low for us." Our delegation, however, urges at London an actual tonnage parity with England, which means for us a heavy cruiser-building program. It first stubbornly resists the British appeal for the abolition of battleships, and then desires to offset the scrapping of three old battleships by building a great new one. As we have pointed out before, this conference on arms reduction probably means for this country an increase.

The negotiations, however, are reassuring on one important point. The conferees are proceeding upon the assumption that there will be no war between Great Britain and the United States.

There are some differences between the English and the American positions but they will be resolved. They will not furnish insuperable obstacles to the desired end of the conference precisely because England has made up its mind that war with America is unthinkable and would mean the end of the British empire. Mr. Garvin has done a great service to an understanding of the situation by his clear analysis of this motive in the British position. The real concessions which will make for Anglo-American accord are England's rather than ours because England would have most to lose from an Anglo-American conflict. We are admitted to naval parity because England dare not and will not contemplate the possibility of a war with us.

The situations between England and France and between France and Italy present much more difficult problems, for the possibility of war is not ruled out. Disarmament conferences among these nations are not really what they seem; they are more like the preliminaries of a duel, when weapons are carefully inspected to insure that one foe will not have an advantage over the other. We do not draw the conclusion from this fact that attempts at disarmament are wholly useless if the psychology of war still prevails. Parity or comparative equality in offensive and defensive weapons may help to reduce a fear psychosis to a minimum and thus hasten psychological disarmament. But it does not guarantee peace. The very fact that the London conference faces such great difficulties proves that the Paris pact did not substitute a "peace system" for a "war system." It was a mutual promise of good behavior which has value only as it is supported by concrete evidence of good intention. The London conference is not supplying very convincing proofs of such intention on the part of some of the nations. It will, therefore, add but little to guarantees of peace. Its chief accomplishment will probably be the outlawing of war between England and America. This is a considerable achievement. Everything else done at the conference may be regarded as subsidiary to this end and as having only slight value in itself.

## Serbs and Others

On June 28, 1914 the Archduke Ferdinand and his consort were assassinated by a young fanatic Serbian patriot. The deed unloosed the fury of the nations which resulted in the spilling of rivers of blood, the death of ten million men, and the chaos of the western world. On February 2, 1930 Serbian or Jugo-Slavian patriots unveiled a tablet at the precise spot where the notorious deed was committed. The inscription on the plaque read: "On this historic spot Gavrilo Princep proclaimed liberty on Sunday, June 28, 1914." In fervid oratory the patriots celebrated the crime of the young fanatic.

It is curious how our moral judgments depend upon our point of view. If the judgments of posterity have anything to do with our final destiny, the spirit of young Princep must have had a swift and bewildering ascent from purgatory to heaven on February 2nd. As far as the Jugo-Slavian patriots are concerned, it matters little that Europe after ten years is still convalescing but slowly from the almost fatal illness which came upon her with the deed of young Princep. Serbia is free! Let the rest of the world be damned.

The tragedy of history is that we are forced to regu-

late the affairs of a complex world with that kind of parochial intelligence. These Serbian patriots differ only in degree from all the rest of us, seeking advantages for our group at the expense of the rest of mankind. Most of our heroes must appear rather impossible from any impartial perspective. They may have done more than young Princep did; but frequently it has been to no better purpose.

## Korea Still Aspiring

In spite of the attempts made by the Japanese Foreign Office to ascribe to Communist plotting the recent student outbreaks in Korea, it is clear from trustworthy reports that the real trouble is the fact that the Korean people are not free and that they want to be. Starting over a slight if provoking incident—the insulting attitude of a young Japanese toward a Korean girl student—the passions of nationalism and suppression were speedily arrayed in open hostility, with repeated demonstrations on the part of the Koreans and many arrests by the Japanese. Korea in 1919 gave a great example of vigorous non-violent insistence to the world; now as then the cry of *mansei* rose to the air unaccompanied by bloody revolt—and though not resulting in tangible gains for national freedom, it certainly got farther than violent rebellion ever could. Japan, too, has her imperialism, her intensified Nicaraguas and Haitis, her exploitation of subject peoples.

## London and Peace Societies

It is painfully apparent that only in the most general way have our peace organizations exerted any influence on our policy at the London Conference. The reason is in some measure due to the desire of the larger peace societies to fence out the dogs of war with a single picket. A great hullabaloo has been set up over abolishing battleships, while no attention worth mentioning has been paid to important non-obsolete weapons. It is true that our ultra-conservative navalists still find value in battleships; but to anyone with enough intelligence to open the window at night, the war value of the battleship is about equal to that of a tin washtub. What really count are airplane carriers, planes, bombs and poison gas, on water as on land. To do away with the impressive monsters of the sea might have a certain psychological value among laggard thinkers; but the peace forces are getting such a trimming on this point that it seems as if a more realistic demand, if turned down, would at least have had some educational value whereas the educational worth of the present picayune campaign is slightly less than nil.

Graver still has been the failure to oppose our official insistence on parity. It is all very well for the generous Mr. MacDonald, knowing we would have it at any cost, to promise it to us graciously, "heaped up and running over." But the truth is, parity in naval strength gives us actually an enormous naval preponderance over Britain. Blockaded, we could exist indefinitely; England, on the contrary, could not hold out a month. Any conceivable first-rate foe must start three thousand miles away from us, while with England the situation is very different.

Parity is chiefly responsible for the fact that the United States is likely to gain little if anything in ultimate savings from the conference and will emerge looking forward to an actual naval building program. And about this ridiculous claim to parity on the part of the United States the peace societies, for the most part, were silent when vigorous activity was not too late.

Another cause of the disarmament difficulty is the acquiescence of peace workers in the popular fallacy of unilateral reduction. "The question is," said Mr. MacDonald by trans-oceanic radio, "how far can we all go together?" We must disagree with our favorite Prime Minister. The question is, how far can we *go*. It is by no means demonstrated that the American people or the British people can never be persuaded to take the great first step as an example, to see how far we could go one after another. A genuine single move for drastic reduction by any great power would break through the whole farce of governmental poker-playing, and so rouse the peoples of other countries that an irresistible cry for disarmament might well rise and overwhelm recalcitrant governments. At any rate, the surrender of the peace groups before the dogma of unilateral reduction, without a hard fight for disarmament by example, is a sign of spiritual poverty.

It is vastly better to ask for something of importance and be unsuccessful than to be equally unsuccessful in demanding something of practically no importance whatsoever. But this is a lesson the strategists of our peace movement seem incapable of learning.

## Chicago and Metropolitan Life

We are not certain whether crime conditions are worse in Chicago than in other cities or whether the metropolis of the Middle West merely suffers from a "bad press." During the first week of February nine people were murdered in the city. Gangland seemed to be operating without any effective restraint from the police. Added to these crime conditions was the financial peril in which the city found itself with thousands of employees facing actual want. Chicago lives a hand-to-mouth existence, financing itself with tax anticipation warrants until new taxes are collected. This year tax collections have been delayed because there is a row about assessments. The result is that war-

PACIFIC SCHOOL OF RELIGION

rants have piled up until banks will no longer honor them. They had to be carried to New York and sold at discount to private brokers. The confusion is worse confounded by the uncoördinated character of the city's government. School board, park board, sanitary district and city each has its own treasury, and each has been peddling its tax warrants to keep financially afloat.

While the outside world regards the whole situation as the ignominious end of Big Bill Thompson's reign of graft, the various symptoms of Chicago's disease point to a chronic malady more hopeless than the dishonesty of a single political machine and more typical of conditions in the metropolitan areas of America than Philadelphians and New Yorkers would like to admit. The tax scandal is typical. Favoritism in tax assessments is an existing evil in all our large cities. Crime conditions are typical. Connivance between public officials and gangsters is becoming a general characteristic of city life. To be sure, Chicago's financial chaos is not quite typical; but all our American cities are mounting their bonded debt and spending ever increasing sums per capita for their current expenses. Tammany is a much smoother machine than the one Big Bill Thompson has maintained in Chicago. It is, however, shot through with dishonesty, and recent revelations in its city courts prove that corruption of public justice under its administration has achieved new and malodorous proportions.

The fact is that democracy in metropolitan centers of America has broken down completely. Except in New York where Norman Thomas is building a new political machine from the ground up in the hope of capturing the city in the next decade or two, there is no real hope of improvement. Reform movements are too sporadic and too superficial to excite the imagination or the loyalty of the average man. They do not deal with basic problems of economic justice and therefore can claim support only so long as a momentary resentment against some particularly flagrant piece of public corruption arouses an otherwise lethargic electorate.

## Our Canadian Correspondent

We announce with pleasure that Miss Agnes McPhail, M.P., has consented to be THE WORLD TOMORROW'S Canadian correspondent. Agnes McPhail is a Farmer Labor Member of the Canadian House of Commons. She enjoys the unique distinction of having been the first and only woman ever to have been elected to that assembly of 245 men. When Miss McPhail was first elected to Parliament in 1921 she roused the House many times with her advanced ideas on economic and social questions. She has always made a severe attack on the military estimates. Although an absolute pacifist she was appointed by the present Liberal Government as its representative at the last session of the League of Nations in Geneva. She has been returned to Parliament at three consecutive elections with an overwhelming majority. Last year she introduced a bill in the House of Commons appropriating $1.00 a year for the maintenance of the Officers Training Corps. She has also advocated the establishment of a department of peace and has suggested that for every $100 spent on military preparedness, $1.00 be devoted to maintain such a department.

## The Army's "Able Assistant"

Sometimes there is nothing so illuminating as the honest expression of motive by a qualified expert to clear up the purpose of social groups and occupations. The Chief of Chaplains of the United States Army, the Rev. Edmund P. Easterbrook, has explained in *The United States Daily* the "War Duties of Army Chaplains." The chaplain holds religious services, even under risky and hard conditions. He aids the individual soldier with spiritual and material comfort. He is friendly, courageous, unselfish. All of which we freely grant.

"At the rest camps behind the lines," says our authority, "his genial fellowship lends itself to promote any possible diversion, athletics and such forms of amusements as will strengthen the morale and refresh-en spirits and bodies wearied in the progress of war." Also, "he is an able assistant to the military authorities in conserving among the troops the highest standards of morality, citizenship, and patriotism."

All of which, too, we freely grant. He is one of the military authorities' ablest assistants in war, and always has been. Will he continue to be, forever?

## The Penumbra of Patriotism

Anybody who was associated with enterprises which forwarded the War in a non-military way is likely to receive an invitation to join The Civil Legion, described in its literature as "a new force for good in our country now in the making." Recipients of the appeal will observe that among the organizations listed as contributing to the "authorized civil activities" are the following: Selective Service Boards; War Preparedness Boards; Reserve Militia; American Protective League (the voluntary home-spy service); War Correspondents; Four Minute Men; Department Publicity and Public Information (propaganda system); Red Cross Field Service; Y. M. C. A. Field Service. Twenty-two types of activities are authorized in all. "The prime purpose of The Civil Legion," says the announcement, "is to create an organization for future National service and in so doing build a monument,

more enduring than granite, as a testimonial to those who served in civilian capacities during the World War and because of age limit, essential industry or occupation, or other disqualifying factors were denied the privilege of wearing the uniform. The Civil Legion is the answer to the boy who asks his father, "Say, Dad, what did you do during the War?" Certain more specifie objectives are outlined, however, as follows:

1. Reconstruction of the old Selective Service Boards with all necessary coöperating organizations. Thus, the National Defense Act of the Country is given an organization as essential to it, as is the Organized Reserve to the Army. There is no cost to the Government for this auxiliary to Preparedness.

2. Profiting by the experiences of the plan of *registration* for Military duty, during the World War, The Civil Legion is urging members of the Congress of the United States, to adopt the plan of REGISTRATION, instead of CANVASS, in the taking of the next decennial census. A few days will suffice under the proposed scheme of registration for taking the National Census, instead of the MONTHS that are required by the obsolete plan of canvassing.

3. Registration, with cards for National identification will be a check on those that seek to destroy, what all good citizens wish to uphold—the law. Registration will be an effective agency in strengthening the Selective immigration policy of the Government.

4. Col. Charles R. Wilson, Past National President of The Civil Legion, advocates the calling of a conference of representatives of all patriotic organizations, that an agreement be entered into, for the abandonment of the archaic program of Cemeterial observance on Memorial Day. Instead of many groups visiting cemeteries on Memorial Day and each group seeking a grave here and there, for flag and floral offering, that a GROUP REPRESENTING ALL SOLDIER ORGANIZATIONS visit each cemetery and there a military program with firing squad, speakers and "taps" by buglers will be conducted FOR ALL WHO MERIT the respect of a grateful citizenry. An apothecary's scale should not be used in the weighing of respect to the DEAD. The person who in life had the advantage of wealth, distinction, rank or opportunity, belongs on Memorial Day to the "Grand Democracy of Death." No mother, father or child shall have a Memorial Day Cemetery Observance and feel the sting of slight.

5. A lesson may be had from experience during the World War. The United States Government should plan, that in case of another National Emergency, the health, comfort and recreation of men in the uniform of the Country, will be properly guarded and provided for by the Government itself. . .

6. Disasters such as Mississippi River floods, Florida tidal waves, Porto Rican hurricanes and the like should be anticipated by special appropriation disbursed by the War Department.

7. All who served in authorized capacities, regardless of whether they wore a uniform or not shall have the privilege of War Risk Insurance.

Who is sponsoring this organization? Well, its Honorary President is none other than Herbert Hoover. Its President is Col. Wade H. Cooper. Its National Executive Committee consists of the living War Governors, not excluding Lynn J. Frazier, who recently introduced a bill in the Senate providing for a constitutional amendment making both war and all war preparedness illegal. We note with growing enthusiasm that one of the Past National Presidents on the Executive Committee is Mr. Joseph T. Cashman, defender and teammate of the Right Honorable Freddy Marvin, editor of the Daily Data Sheet of the Key Men of America—a publication, by the way, which has recently announced its suspension for lack of support (at last) among the patriotic "fergawdsakers," as H. G. Wells once descriptively called them.

We doubt if any interpretative comment is needed to place the emotional origins and functional directions of this exquisite association. We have neglected, however, one other advantage of membership. "An authorized silk American flag for use at funerals of members furnished each Local Chapter of The Civil Legion." We have a suspicion that our own flag must be unauthorized and so this last boon is really a great temptation. However, we are unselfish in our better nature. If we had an authorized flag for use by the dead, we should unhesitatingly bestow it upon The Civil Legion. Its promulgators may not realize the fact, but that is where the funeral flag already belongs.

## Not Barred from Russia ?

We announced in a recent issue that THE WORLD TOMORROW had been barred from the U.S.S.R. And so we still are, it seems, when copies are sent to prominent pacifists. A few others, however, seem to be getting the paper, and the Amtorg Trading Corporation, the Soviets' purchasing office in this country, has recently entered a subscription for one of Moscow's academic institutions. All of which is one more bit of evidence that anything and everything is true and false about "the land of limitless contradictions."

## Our International Visitor

Making a deep public impression everywhere and contributing greatly to the building up of a closer fellowship across the Atlantic, Fenner Brockway in one month held innumerable private conferences, met a large number of organized groups in this country, and addressed over fifty audiences located between Washington and Chicago. We desire to thank the many groups and individuals who helped to make his trip the success it unquestionably was, and to Fenner Brockway himself THE WORLD TOMORROW bids an affectionate *au revoir*. Our readers may be interested to know that because of our experience in this undertaking we are planning to bring an international visitor to our shores for such a trip each year.

# Will India Become a Lost Dominion?

KIRBY PAGE

THROUGH the kindness of friends, Sherwood Eddy and I were privileged to be intimate observers of the proceedings at the annual meeting of the Indian National Congress which recently closed its history-making session. My chief impressions are that Mahatma Gandhi stands absolutely supreme among India's political leaders at the moment; that the nationalists who believe in the use of violence may gain the ascendancy and sweep Gandhi aside if the struggle is prolonged; that the political rule of Great Britain in India is probably doomed; that India faces decades of strife and disorder before a stable and efficient Indian national government can be created; and that the nationalist leaders are motivated by the same love of liberty which drove George Washington and Thomas Jefferson to heroic action in 1776.

After the Lahore meeting there can be no doubt that Mahatmaji looms above his colleagues like a majestic peak above the plains. He had been elected President of the Congress for this year and had declined to accept. But in the Working Committee of fifteen members, in the Subjects Committee of two hundred, and in the main sessions of fifteen thousand, his influence was dominant. It is true that sections of his resolution relating to the reorganization of the Congress machinery were rejected, but no other leader wielded influence at all equal to his. The Presidential Address referred to him as "one who towers above all others in this present-day world of ours." The Moslem who gave the address of welcome said: "Mahatmaji is the one leader in whom the masses have faith. He is the one leader who commands nation-wide respect and affection." His name was mentioned literally hundreds of times in the public discussions.

India's saint has again assumed active political leadership. Indeed, Gandhi's political power is derived from his spiritual influence. Even his opponents pay reverent tribute to the godliness of his character, while the masses bow down in adoration before him. During one of the critical meetings of the Subjects Committee we saw striking evidence of the way he subordinates politics to religion. Even during the sessions of this supremely important national assembly he has adhered to the practice of meeting with his friends for corporate worship each morning at 4:00 and each evening at 7:30. When the latter hour approached on Saturday, although one of his chief opponents had just risen to discuss an important point, the Mahatma slipped quietly out of a rear exit. Mr. Eddy and I eagerly accepted an invitation from his private secretary to join them. As soon as he and those of us who followed were outside the tent, the Volunteers formed a human-chain about us and cleared a way through the crowd, which quickly recognized Gandhi, and gave rousing cheers for him. After half an hour in corporate worship, he returned to his political responsibilities. Whether or not Gandhi will long retain this undisputed leadership can only be determined by the course of future events, but just now he exercises spiritual and political mastery over more millions of human beings than any other man of the age.

It appears to me that Britain's political rule in India is doomed. The consent of the governed is rapidly being withdrawn. A tiny community of 165,000 Britishers cannot continue much longer to rule 319 million Indians in the face of determined and sustained hostility and opposition. British sovereignty will doubtless be supplanted by full Dominion Status in which case British rule will become a rapidly diminishing factor as in Canada, or by complete independence for the Indian people.

That the temper of the nationalists is steadily becoming more embittered and radical was revealed unmistakably at the Lahore Congress. The moderates had no chance whatever and were quickly swept aside. The resolution boycotting the Round Table Conference, rejecting Dominion Status, declaring for complete independence, boycotting the legislatures, and authorizing civil disobedience was carried almost unanimously, there being only a dozen or so votes in the negative. The section of the resolution which expressed appreciation of the Viceroy's efforts passed in the Subjects Committee with a majority of one lone vote, and in the Congress by a narrow margin. The section deploring the attempted assassination of the Viceroy also passed by a distressingly small margin, some 796 members voting against it.

Delegates who attempted to address the Congress in English were hooted down on a score of occasions, although no Indian language was understood by all those present. Only a courageous few succeeded in getting a hearing in English.

The resolution favoring the repudiation of a portion of the national debt cannot be understood unless it is remembered that Great Britain saddled upon India much of the original cost of conquering the country and practically all the expenses from year to year of quartering British troops in India. Suppose that the thirteen American colonies had been defeated in the Revolutionary War and had subsequently gained freedom,

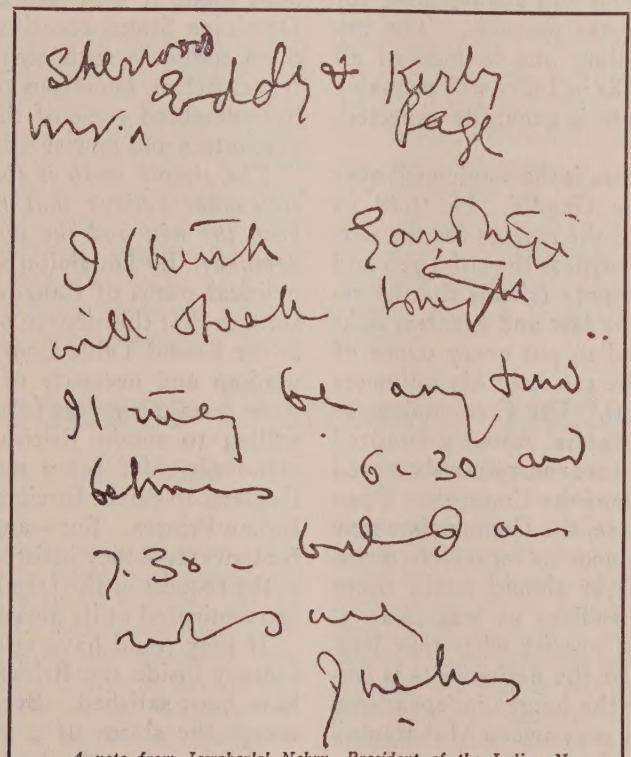
would they have shouldered the debt incurred by Great Britain in previously subjugating them? Whatever may be the justice of the case, the passage of this resolution by the Congress seems unwise and inexpedient.

THE uncompromising tone of the addresses is revealed in the excerpts quoted elsewhere in this issue. Speaker after speaker was guilty of disloyal or seditious utterances. Patrick Henry and Samuel Adams never desired freedom more passionately than do the Indian leaders nor used more vigorous language. "We have conspiracy cases," exclaimed President Jawaharlal Nehru, than whom no more honest or devoted patriot is to be found in any land, "going on in various parts of the country. They are ever with us. But the time has gone for secret conspiracy. We have now an open conspiracy to free this country from foreign rule."

The boycott and mass civil disobedience are the methods by which the nationalists expect to obtain independence. Gandhi's famous resolution reads as follows:

This Congress endorses the the action of the Working Committee in connection with the manifesto signed by party leaders including congressmen on the Vice-regal pronouncement of the 31st October relating to Dominion Status, and appreciates the efforts of the Viceroy towards a settlement of the national movement for Swaraj. The Congress, however, having considered all that has since happened and the result of the meeting between Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru and other leaders and the Viceroy, is of opinion that *nothing is to be gained in the existing circumstances by the Congress being represented at the proposed Round Table Conference.* This Congress therefore in pursuance of the resolution passed at its session at Calcutta last year, declares that the word "Swaraj" in Article One of the Congress constitution shall mean *complete independence* and further declares the entire scheme of the Nehru Committee's Report to have lapsed, and hopes that all congressmen will henceforth devote their exclusive attention to the attainment of complete independence for India.

As a preliminary step towards organizing a campaign for independence and in order to make the Congress policy as consistent as possible with the change of creed this Congress resolves upon *a complete boycott of the Central and Provincial legislatures* and committees constituted by Government and calls upon Congressmen and others taking part in the national movement to abstain from participating directly or indirectly in future elections, and directs the present Congress members of the legislatures and committees to *resign their seats.* This Congress appeals to the nation zealously to prosecute the Constructive Program of the Congress and authorizes the All India Congress Committee *whenever it deems fit to launch upon a program of Civil Disobedience including non-payment of taxes,* whether in selected areas or otherwise, and under such safeguards as it may consider necessary.



*A note from Jawaharlal Nehru, President of the Indian National Congress, reading as follows: "I think Gandhiji will speak tonight. It may be any time between 6:30 and 7:30—but I am not sure."*

There is a strong tendency in European circles in India to scoff at the Indian National Congress and to regard its resolutions as mere words with no power behind them. That this body represents only a fraction of the whole country is obvious. Just a few of the 69 million Moslems are represented in its councils. The 60 million untouchables are almost wholly inarticulate. The three million Sikhs are for the most part hostile. The National Liberal Federation embraces some of the ablest political leaders and is opposed to the demand for complete independence and separation. The nearly five million Christians, to the extent that they hold any political opinions whatever, are predominantly for Dominion Status, although there are notable exceptions within their ranks. The 72 million inhabitants of the Native States are ruled by their own Princes and are not directly involved in the present controversy. That is to say, groups comprising more than two-thirds of India's 319 millions are feebly represented in the Congress. Nevertheless, it is a fatal blunder to underestimate the significance of this movement for complete independence.

THE strategy of non-violent non-coöperation is an exceedingly difficult one with which to cope. Lord Lloyd in a moment of frankness once admitted that it came "within an inch of succeeding" in 1921. "If they had taken the next step and refused to pay taxes," continued this former Governor of Bombay, "God knows where we should have been!" Thirty thousand patri-

ots went to jail. The nationalists are in a much more desperate mood now than they were then. An English publicist in Calcutta expressed the opinion to me that if non-coöperation could be maintained on an extended scale for three months, it would paralyze the Government.

The weapon of the industrial strike is also available. During the past few years strikes have caused heavy loss to British and Indian investors as well as to Indian laborers. The condition of the urban workers in India is so wretched that serious unrest is chronic. They have little to lose by an uprising and always hope for some improvement through mass protests. The cry for independence is an appealing one to men of all races, and the nationalists' ranks in India will probably gain strength more rapidly than is generally expected.

NOT least among the factors is the magic spell over his people exercised by Gandhi. He told us that he thought the response of the masses for the new call of non-coöperation would surpass that of 1920 and 1921. He has said to his intimate friends that he regards the coming crusade as the last and greatest fight of his career. He is prepared to put every ounce of his energy into it. Whether he can hold his followers to non-violence is problematical. The Communists, as usual, are fishing in troubled waters. About a hundred flags of student sympathizers were conspicuously waved at intervals during the sessions of the Congress. Open advocates of violence as they are, the Communists may deliberately incite the Government to repressive measures. If another General Dyer should again shoot down hundreds of unarmed Indians as was done at Amritsar in 1919, no one can predict what may happen. Moreover, the temper of the nationalists is certain to become more extreme the longer independence is delayed. In desperation they may sweep Mahatamaji aside and resort to violence and terror.

Gandhi told us that his mind was "seeking a formula" which would enable him to continue non-violent non-coöperation even if certain unruly elements resorted to violence. He may find a justification on the ground that the abandonment of the non-violent campaign would merely increase the amount of violence. Even if he so desired, however, he would not be able to persuade his colleagues to abandon non-coöperation as he did in 1921. There will be no truce now until self-government has been achieved. Continued British rule will doubtless become increasingly difficult and diminishingly profitable. For these reasons it seems to me that British sovereignty in India is in all likelihood doomed.

The extreme action of the Lahore Congress appears to have shocked public opinion both in England and America. It is incomprehensible, with the Labor Government in office and a sympathetic Viceroy at Delhi, that the offer of a Round Table Conferenc should have been rejected. Why did they not wait an see what could have been achieved by discussion befor resorting to non-coöperation?

My personal opinion is that the Congress has com mitted a grave blunder. It is unfortunate that th nationalist leaders are boycotting the proposed confer ence and are inaugurating non-coöperation at this stag when so many of their demands could have been ob tained by persuasion and patience. I am of the opinio that more rapid and permanent progress would hav been made if they had been willing to accept a nev Dominion Status constitution which would have give them complete autonomy within one or two decades Nevertheless, numerous conversations have enabled m to understand some of the reasons for this apparentl precipitate and unwise action.

*The simple truth is that Mahatma Gandhi and hi colleagues believe that the Labor Government lack both the will and the power to grant their minimun demands.* By Dominion Status they mean the advance political status of Canada. They insisted upon an as surance that this degree of autonomy would be grante at the Round Table Conference. They recognized th wisdom and necessity of permitting England to con tinue certain controls for a limited period. They wer willing to retain British troops and a British com mander-in-chief for a number of years and to allo England to direct foreign affairs and relations with th Indian Princes. But—and here is the crux of the whol controversy—they insisted that all this should be don at the request of the free Dominion of India and shoul be terminated at its pleasure or by previous agreement

If they could have achieved immediate and full au tonomy inside the British Commonwealth they woul have been satisfied. But they are wholly unwilling t accept the status of a minor in the family and wai many years for the bestowal of full rights and priv ileges. They dismiss as irrelevant the question as t whether or not India is fit for self-government. The say that freedom is an alienable right of a people an that a foreign power has no authority to decide hov much and at what time liberty shall be achieved by mor than 319 million persons of another race on anothe continent. They are making the same claims that wer advanced by the leaders of the thirteen American colo nies and by many other predecessors in history. An most readers of these words would do likewise if the faced a similar situation!

WHEN it became apparent, after the conversatio of the Big Five with the Viceroy on Decembe 23rd, that the British Government had an entirely dif ferent conception of Dominion Status and was thinkin in terms of a gradual march to a distant goal, Ma hatma Gandhi felt obliged to recommend the drasti

program which was adopted by the Congress. It seemed to him a waste of time to attend a conference when it was known in advance that the minimum demands of the nationalists would be refused. Moreover, Gandhi expressed to us the opinion that the Labor Government did not have the power, even if it had the will, to grant full Dominion Status. Not only is it a minority administration, but within its own ranks are many vigorous opponents of autonomy for India. Many times Gandhi has said that liberty can never be gained as a free gift but must be claimed as an inherent right.

Then, too, Gandhi cannot afford to wait. He is past sixty years of age and in exceedingly frail health. If he is to make any further contribution to the cause of delivering India from alien rule, he must act quickly. There was the further factor that even if he had counselled moderation, the Congress would probably have rejected his advice and adopted independence and separation as its goal. At the Calcutta Congress his resolution favoring a year's delay was adopted by a narrow margin, and the nationalists have certainly become more impatient during the intervening twelve months.

All these were contributory factors but the primary reason for Gandhi's recommendation to the Congress was the bed-rock fact that he and many other nationalists have lost confidence in Great Britain and are determined to resist its domination to the utmost limit of their ability. They are resolved to run any risk rather than to submit longer to alien rule. They are not in a mood to count their blessings and to wait with patience further gifts from a foreign government.

This is an appropriate hour for citizens of the United States to remind themselves of the temper displayed by their own Revolutionary Fathers and of the weapons these patriots felt justified in using. Pacifists who condemn the use of violence even in revolution and civil war can consistently criticize the present policy of the Indian nationalists on the ground that non-violence may soon be replaced by violence. But is it reasonable for others to do so? Mahatma Gandhi and his colleagues are able, in spite of the vast good that the British have accomplished in India, to present a far stronger indictment of British rule than George Washington and his associates framed against George the Third.

# Indian Leaders Demand Independence

*President Jawaharlal Nehru at the Indian National Congress:*

Recently there has been a seeming offer of peace. The Viceroy has stated on behalf of the British Government that the leaders of Indian opinion will be invited to confer with the Government on the subject of India's future constitution. The Viceroy meant well and his language was the language of peace. But even the Viceroy's good-will and courteous phrases are poor substitutes for the hard facts that confront us. We have sufficient experience of the devious ways of the British diplomacy to beware of it. The offer that the British Government made was vague and there was no commitment or promise of performance. Only by the greatest stretch of imagination could it be interpreted as a possible response to the Calcutta resolution. . . .

If the Calcutta resolution holds, we have but one goal today, that of independence. Independence is not a happy word in the world today, for it means exclusiveness and isolation. Civilization has had enough of narrow nationalism, and gropes towards a wider coöperation and inter-dependence. And if we use the word independence we do so in the sense hostile to the larger ideal. Independence for us means complete freedom from the British domination and the British Imperialism. Having attained our freedom, I have no doubt that India will welcome all attempts at world coöperation and federation, and will even agree to give up part of her own independence to a larger group of which she is an equal member.

The British Empire today is not such a group and cannot be so long as it dominates over millions of people and holds large areas of the world's surface against the will of their inhabitants. It cannot be a true commonwealth so long as Imperialism is its basis and the exploitation of other races its chief means of sustenance. . . . The embrace of the British Empire is a dangerous thing. It is not and cannot be the life-giving embrace of affection, freely given and returned. And if it is not that, it will be what it has been in the past, the embrace of death. . . .

We have had much controversy about Independence and Dominion status and we have quarrelled over words. But the real thing is the conquest of power, by whatever name it may be called. I do not think that any form of Dominion status, applicable to India, will give us real power. A test of this power would be the entire withdrawal of the alien army of occupation and economic control. Let us therefore concentrate on these and the rest will follow easily.

We stand, therefore, today for the fullest freedom of India. This Congress has not acknowledged and will not acknowledge the right of the British Parliament to dictate to us in any way. To it we make no appeal. But we do appeal to the Parliament and conscience of the world, and to them we shall declare, I hope, that India submits no longer to any foreign domination. Today or tomorrow we may not be strong enough to assert our will. We are very conscious of our weakness and there is no boasting in us or pride of strength. But let no one, least of all England, mistake or underrate the meaning or strength of our resolve. Solemnly, with full knowledge of consequences I hope, we shall take it and there will be no turning back. A great nation cannot be thwarted for long when once its mind is clear and resolved. If today we fail and tomorrow brings no success, the day after will follow and bring achievement. . . .

I must frankly confess that I am a socialist and a republican and am no believer in kings and princes, or in the order which produces the modern kings of industry, who have greater power over the lives and fortunes of men than even the kings of old, and whose methods are as predatory as those of the old feudal aristocracy.

I recognize, however, that it may not be possible for a body constituted as is this National Congress and in the present circumstances of the country, to adopt a full socialists' program. But we must realize that the philosophy of socialism has gradually permeated the entire structure of society, the world over and almost the only points in dispute are the pace and the methods of advance to its full realization. India will have to go that way too if she seeks to end her poverty and inequality though she may evolve her own methods and may adopt the ideal to the genius of her race. . . .

Article one of our constitution lays down that our methods must be legitimate and peaceful. Legitimate, I hope, they will always be, for we must not sully the great cause for which we stand by any deed that will bring dishonor to it and that we may ourselves regret later. Peaceful I should like them to be for the methods of peace are more desirable and more enduring than those of violence. Violence too often brings reaction and demoralization in its train, and in our country specially it may lead to disruption. It is perfectly true that organized violence rules the world today and it may be that we could profit by its use. But we have not the material or the training for organized violence and individual or sporadic violence is a confession of despair. The great majority of us, I take it, judge the issues not on moral but on practical grounds, and if we reject the way of violence it is because it promises no substantial results. But if this Congress or the nation at any future time comes to the conclusion that methods of violence will rid us of slavery then I have no doubt that it will adopt them. Violence is bad but slavery is far worse. Let us also remember that the great apostle of non-violence has himself told us that it is better to fight than to refuse to fight out of cowardice. . . .

We have conspiracy cases going on in various parts of the country. They are ever with us. But the time has gone for secret conspiracy. We have now an Open Conspiracy to free this country from foreign rule and you, comrades, and all our countrymen and countrywomen are invited to join it. But the rewards that are in store for you are suffering and prison and it may be death. But you shall also have the satisfaction that you have done your little bit for India, the ancient, but ever young, and have helped a little in the liberation of humanity from its present bondage.

## *Mahatma Gandhi:*

I live and move for civil disobedience. I swear by civil disobedience. I cannot conceive of India freed by any method except by civil disobedience. I cannot conceive of freedom by criminal disobedience through bombs, swords, violence and the knife.

India must be freed only through and exclusively by non-violent and peaceful methods. It would be then only freedom won on behalf of the starving millions of India, who live in 7,000,000 villages. Civil disobedience to be effective must always be peaceful and non-violent. If you want to be prepared to launch civil disobedience in the near future you will have to transform yourself. You will not indulge in jugglery of words. You will not deceive yourself and you will not deceive the nation, but you will be doing wrong if you think that non-violent civil disobedience can exist side by side with criminal disobedience.

If you want non-violent civil disobedience you must have sound organization. You must have discipline. If you are disappointed you must not feel it. You must have no internal quarrels. You must have no ugly development in your internal affairs. We must not have ugly demonstrations which we had in the Subjects Committee. We must be collected, calm and courageous. The present atmosphere is not such that we are in a position to fight the government. We cannot gain freedom only by waving the red flag. We require cool, calm and collected strength. There are types and types of courage. He who wields sword and is violent can consider himself a brave man. But he is truly brave who has calm and collected courage to bare his chest when the dagger is pointed at him. I can cite to you examples of Sikhs who in the Gurukabagh struggle non-violently submitted to all pain inflicted on them by brute force. We cannot practice civil disobedience unless we have calm and collected courage and that in abundance. I want those who have moved amendments to realize that it is only through non-violence we shall be able to develop the necessary strength. We ought to cultivate non-violence by peaceful means and be a brave, truthful nation.

If you have a thirst for freedom you will live and act every minute of the twenty-four hours of your life in a manner, which will bring you freedom in the quickest manner. You will dream of freedom and live for freedom. If you are in earnest you will not be jealous of one another. You will avoid all internal quarrels. You will be united. You will be calm. You will be brave and act together. Those who say that freedom cannot be attained by non-violence do not know what they are saying.

## *Dr. Saif-Ud-Din Kitchlew, the Moslem Chairman of the Reception Committee, Indian National Congress:*

When the British adventurers first came in touch with our country they found its people rich and civilized far above any other country in the world. Our manufacturers were well-known in Asia, Africa and Europe. Our cotton and silk goods, brocades, shawls, muslins and rugs could easily find a market in all countries. Our jewelry, pottery and metal works were looked upon with an eye of envy and were a source of great income to our country. Similarly our surplus grain, spices and other products were eagerly awaited in many parts of the world. There was a unique taste and rare art exhibited in our swadeshi products which made an irresistible appeal to the aesthetic sense of our customers and touched their pockets in no small measure. The stories of the fabulous wealth of our country attracted the attention of the English adventurers and brought them down to our shores. . . .

As for the condition of the peasants who constitute 80 per cent of the population, let me quote to you the authoritative words of a statement. "As India must be bled," said Lord Salisbury, "the lancet should be directed to the parts where the blood is congested, or at least is sufficient, not to those (the agricultural people) which are already feeble for the want for it."

India must be bled. It sounds so brutal, but it is an honest statement of fact. This is the keynote to all our troubles; the British connection must be maintained and its people must remain hewers of wood and drawers of water to serve the interests of white Imperialism. Yet, India is bled—bled white. Our surplus wealth is gone. Our resources are being tapped and our hidden treasures are exploited by the forces of Imperialism. . . .

In the name of "prestige" and in order to teach a "lesson" to the people of this country for having shown a spirit of revolt, the Government resorted to drastic measures of repression. Their aeroplanes threw bombs on the unsuspecting people, their Smiths had the audacity to uncover the veils of our women, their

Dyers had the license of shooting on the crowds of innocent unarmed citizens gathered in a lawful meeting for the prosecution of a lawful object. Their soldiers and military officers made the people rub their noses against the ground, crawl on their bellies, and undergo the scourge of whipping. Our young men and students were ordered to fall in line and were taken in marching processions over long distances in the burning heat of the sun in order to salute the Union Jack, the emblem of British Imperialism. . . .

No, friends, no, Mr. MacDonald and his party will never risk their position and stake their chances of holding office for our sake. . . . No self-respecting people can entertain even the idea of making the future of the nation dependent on the good will and fortunes of an alien political party of the dominating nation. India's freedom can be attained only through India's own efforts. History of nations that have attained their freedom as well as the history of our own political struggles tell us that self-reliance, sacrifice and suffering are the only aids to swaraj. . . .

I have now concluded. I shall say only a word of appeal.

My appeal is, firstly, to Mahatmaji. He is the one leader in whom the masses have faith. He is the one leader who commands nation-wide respect and affection. I appeal to Mahatmaji to lead in our struggle for the attainment of national independence. The country is ripe for action. It is ripe for suffering and sacrifices. The Non-coöperation programme of the Nagpur Congress gave the country a militant and dynamic programme. The country responded wonderfully. In time the Chauri Chaura incident led to a sudden suspension of the programme, which severely disappointed the workers and the country and played havoc with the morale. Today, we are once again on the eve of a period of dynamic action. I appeal to Mahatmaji. Pray come and lead us. We are ready. But let there be no repetition of Chauri Chaura, no turning back once we get our feet onward. Let the slogan be onward, until the goal is reached.

### *Sir Phiroze Sethna, President, National Liberal Federation:*

We Liberals stand for Dominion Status, we hold that if Dominion Status is granted without undue delay, there will be no political or ethical justification for India to seek to sever the British connection. Nor can we support a general policy of non-payment of taxes as in our judgment such a policy, like the policy of a general strike, cannot but plunge the country into all the evils and horrors of an open conflict with Government, who in sheer self-defense and in the discharge of its elementary duties of maintaining peace and order, of carrying on the King's Government, will not hesitate to take, and will be quite justified in taking, every necessary measure for pulling down such a general movement of civil disobedience. But as constructive statesmen whose duty it is to face the Indian problem as a whole in all its aspects and in a proper perspective and who consider that a policy of prevention is better than a policy of cure, it will not be proper for us, nor for the Government to ignore or belittle the significance of the movement of thought in Congress circles. . . .

As the object of the Conference is to enable Government to lay before Parliament proposals which may command a wide measure of general assent, it may be presumed that the terms of reference to the Conference will be quite satisfactory, that they will be the widest and most liberal possible, otherwise it is obvious that there is no hope of such a wide measure of general assent being reached. For instance we can never agree to the terms of reference if they assume or are based on the existing conditions and restrictions, as laid down in the Declaration of 1917 or in the preamble to the Government of India Act of 1919. If the terms of reference lay down that the question of responsible government or Dominion Status must be discussed only on the basis of the principle of gradual progress or progress by stages or instalments, or on the continuance or maintenance of Dyarchy in the Provincial or the Central Governments, in other words, if the question of the immediate establishment of full responsible Government, provincial or national, or of the immediate attainment of Dominion Status, is excluded from the purview of the Conference, it is obvious that the Conference can serve no good purpose, and cannot bring about such a satisfactory settlement of the constitutional problem as we all desire, and as is the avowed object of the Conference then in that case, we shall have to reject the offer of Government and refuse to have anything to do with the Conference.

## Mahatma Gandhi on Violence

Whatever may have been the result of violent activities in other countries and without reference to the philosophy of non-violence, it does not require much intellectual effort to see that if we resort to violence for ridding society of the many abuses which impede our progress, we shall but add to our difficulties and postpone the day of freedom. The people, unprepared for reform because unconvinced of their necessity, will be maddened with rage over their coercion and will seek the assistance of the foreigner in order to retaliate. Has not this been happening before our eyes for the past many years of which we have still painfully vivid recollections? . . .

We are now entering upon a new era. Our immediate objective and not our distant goal is complete independence. Is it not obvious that if we are to evolve the true spirit of independence amongst the millions, we shall only do so through non-violence and all it implies? It is not enough that we drive out Englishmen by making their lives insecure through secret violence. That would lead not to independence but to utter confusion. We can establish independence only by adjusting our differences through an appeal to the head and the heart, by evolving organic unity amongst ourselves, not by terrorising or killing those who, we fancy, may impede our march; but by patient and gentle handling, by converting the opponent, we want to offer mass civil disobedience. Everybody owns that it is a certain remedy. Everybody understands that "civil" here means strictly non-violent. And has it not often been demonstrated that mass civil disobedience is an impossibility without mass-non-violence and without mass discipline? Surely it does not require an appeal to our religious faith to convince us that the necessity of our situation, if nothing else, demands non-violence of the limited type I have indicated. Let those who are not past reason then cease either secretly or openly to endorse activities such as this latest bomb outrage. Rather let them openly and heartily condemn these outrages, so that our deluded patriots may for want of nourishment to their violent spirit realise the futility of violence and the great harm that violent activity has every time done.—From *Young India,* January 2, 1930.

# India—Symbol of Eastern Aspiration

C. F. ANDREWS

IT is only when what is happening in India is related to the whole situation in the East that its true proportions can be understood and its perspective visualized. For since the World War, it has not been India only that has non-coöperated with the West but almost every other eastern subject country as well. The Arab revolt, for instance, which first began in Syria against the French, has now flared up against the British. The long-drawn Chinese struggle to get rid of extra-territoriality really belongs to the same category. So does the hardly-suppressed rising in Java. Even in the Philippine Islands, the same spirit of revolt is made evident with a pathetic moral protest of its own. An aged Filipino found life no longer bearable, after the news was sent over from California of the rioting in that state against his own people. He committed suicide, leaving behind a message giving the reason of his act. While suicide to uphold national honor has been not unknown in Japan, this act in the Philippine Islands is almost unprecedented. The unrest in Africa is scarcely less serious than that of Asia, and it bears the same character. The news that comes from Natal is most alarming; and if the Cape franchise is taken away by General Hertzog and his party in power it is difficult to know what will happen in the Cape Province.

It would be an entire misreading of these widely scattered events to regard them as starting from the higher educated classes, and only reaching down to the poverty-stricken multitude later; for while it is quite true that in Asia students have led the revolt, it must not be lost sight of that these students themselves have come direct from the villages and have never lost touch with the village folk who are their kith and kin. They have made their own discovery everywhere that the people in the villages are themselves restless. Thus the driving force behind the students' revolt has come from the peasantry; and it has not seldom taken the complexion of religious fervor. This religious aspect of the new struggle for human liberty has called forth acts of incredible sacrifice and kindled the flame of freedom anew when the fire seemed to be dying down. Such was the hunger strike of young Jatindranath Das, of Bengal, who died on the sixty-third day of his fast and never once weakened in his agony of self-martyrdom. The millions of India were moved by his death as they had never been moved before; for he sprang from the village people. He was known personally to me and had worked with utter unselfishness in flood and famine relief in North Bengal when I was with him at Patisar and the surrounding districts.

This moral and intellectual revolt against the West, which has destroyed the old prestige of Europe and brought the younger generation to the very verge of open rebellion against every form of western rule, has often been defined as the rise of nationalism. But the definition misses one important point: that there underlies what is happening a unity of sentiment which goes much deeper than the simple desire for national independence. There is now impending a cyclic change such as comes once in a thousand years among the masses of mankind. The millions of Asia are "on trek," as it were, with a restlessness that impels them from within. At rare intervals in the past there have been such upheavals within the human mind driving it to attempt new paths of desperate adventure.

AMID this vast upheaval of life in Africa and Asia, there is rising to the surface, right up from the subconscious to the conscious, not only the keen sense of racial humiliation, but also the vivid awareness of increasing poverty and misery hardly to be borne. The bitterness of these things is felt all the more deeply by contrast with the increasing wealth and racial independence of the West. This contrast, constantly now before the eyes of the masses of the East, owing to much closer contact, has turned the gaze away from the circle of bitterness within to that which presses without. It is noticeable how the civil war in China is itself imputed to the intruding presence of the foreigner: and there is much to bear out that point of view. The recrudescence of Hindu-Moslem antipathies in India is traced to the same source; and again in this instance there is much that shows how a third party aggravates the trouble. The reaction of the Arab against the Jew in Palestine makes both sides angry with the British rulers who come from the West. The East says, in so many words, "For God's sake, let us alone, to settle these things among ourselves. Can you not understand in the West that it is the height of injustice to turn us out of your own lands and then come with violence into ours to dictate to us what we shall do?"

I remember once traveling back from Pretoria to Durban and going along the corridor of the train to the coach reserved for colored people. There I entered into conversation, through an interpreter, with an old Zulu Chief who had just been present at a conference to meet General Hertzog. He was lying back sick at heart and groaning with inward pain.

"You have taken away," he cried, "all our lands; you have insulted us; will you take away our sky also?" That cry seemed to come from the very inmost heart of the East, and where it is accompanied by agrarian distress, indescribably acute, among millions of the human race it forebodes infinite trouble. For these surging tumults within the breast are fraught with critical peril, if once they pass beyond the threshold into active life. Yet to suppress them still further by force is only to make the final explosion greater. To use a parallel metaphor, violent repression merely adds fuel to the fire.

IF this diagnosis is correct—and I have studied the symptoms at close quarters for many years—then clearly something is needed which will be much bigger than anything that is being devised or decided today to meet the crisis in the East. Just as naval disarmament cannot be undertaken by any one power alone in isolation, so what I may venture to call "racial disarmament" requires a world conference, or at least a world commission. For the racial adjustment needed throughout the world cannot be effected by the efforts of one Western power alone, however important. In the interests of world peace, the League of Nations must not for its own sake allow this whole issue to run its course, unnoticed and neglected, any longer. If it does it will certainly be regarded by the East as a mere tool in the hands of the stronger Western powers.

The controversy between India and Great Britain can hardly be settled by isolated action because it is part of a much greater conflict of ideals dividing the East and the West. Merely to let each Western nation go on doing just what it likes in a special corner of its own, which is called its "colonial empire," is really to go back once more to the old selfish view of absolute national sovereignty. It also keeps alive the fallacy that one country can be the "possession" of another. All that is meant by the World Court, the League of Nations, and the Kellogg Pact, is stultified by such an attitude of mind. Historically, it belongs to our pre-war mentality.

Much else has to be shaken off besides. If war is wholly to be renounced as an instrument of national policy, then the suppression of weaker races by force of arms must be given up with it. For such forcible suppression carries with it all the perilous aspect of war, and thereby as an inevitable consequence world peace is endangered. My plea, therefore, is this: that nothing less comprehensive than a world conference or a world commission is needed to inquire into race relations, if these upheavals in Africa and the East are to be dealt with in a rational and peaceable spirit. Only thus will the East cease to regard the League of Nations itself as an engine of oppression.

## An Appeal to Our Fellow-Citizens

*THE following appeal has been sent by the India Independence League of America to the British Government, the leaders of the Indian National Congress, members of the United States Congress, and many individuals:*

"To an American Public concerned for peace and convinced that true and enduring peace can only rest upon international goodwill and progressive removal of deep-seated grievances in the minds of all peoples, present events in India have, we are convinced, a profound significance which we have not fully appreciated.

"It is a new thing in history when a people 330 million strong strive for internal unity and freedom from the yoke of foreign rule by non-violent methods under the leadership of a saint. . . . But let violence break out, let Britain answer force by force, and passions will be unloosed the end of which no man can see.

"It is no adequate answer to point to the obstacles in India to the establishment of a successful national government. They will not be overcome by foreign rule resting on bayonets. India has presented her case to the world against foreign government based solely on conquest, a government alien to her spirit and her desires, which despite the individual probity of its officials has exploited the Indian people and profoundly humiliated their spirit. Were the case for independence less strong it would still be true that no believer in democracy, no opponent of imperialism, no advocate of a fellowship of free peoples can accept the right of any British government to put down by force of arms the revolt of India's millions. . . .

"We Americans are without direct power or direct responsibility in the matter. But in our little world we cannot look unmoved upon this crisis. We have not only a right but a duty to put the imponderable power of public opinion behind an urgent plea to the Indian people to persist in the non-violent paths in which they have chosen to lead mankind and to the British Government to justify our confidence in its zeal and capacity as the pioneer of peace by agreement and goodwill." (Signed by: *John Dewey,* Professor, Columbia University; *Oswald Garrison Villard,* Editor, "The Nation"; *Norman Thomas,* Socialist Candidate for President of the U. S. A.; *Rev. John Haynes Holmes,* Minister, Community Church, New York; *Dr. J. T. Sunderland,* author of "India in Bondage"; *Robert Morss Lovett,* Professor, University of Chicago; *William Floyd,* Editor, "The Arbitrator"; *Roger Baldwin,* Director, American Civil Liberties Union; *Devere Allen,* Editor, "The World Tomorrow"; *Dr. Charles Fleischer,* former editor, "New York American"; *B. W. Huebsch,* The Viking Press, New York; *Louise Adams Floyd,* Ex-President, The Civic Club, New York.)

# The Chances of Indian Unity

REGINALD A. REYNOLDS

I HAVE not yet met an Indian who does not believe independence to be the absolute and unconditional right of his people. But while political India is almost unanimous on the question of right, there is division on the question of expediency. To one the right is qualified by questions of national or communal security; to another the consideration of what Great Britain is likely to concede has tempered the demand of what India expects. There are also questions of how and when. The attempt to reconcile these various qualifications has led to the compromise known as the Nehru Report. This was drawn up by an All Parties Committee of which Pandit Motilal Nehru was chairman, and it recommended Dominion Status with electoral safeguards for the Moslem Minority.

A compromise, however, is only of value so long as the balance of interests represented in it remain the same, and this was not the case. The Congress was well aware that every day that Dominion Status was delayed both they and their programme were becoming discredited. The younger men were losing faith in the British connection, and grew more and more restless and dissatisfied. This resulted in the growth of an Independence Party, the conciliation of which was becoming rapidly a matter of graver practical importance than compromising with Great Britain or Moslem prejudices. The claims of right and expediency were converging.

THE Calcutta Congress of Christmas of 1928 accordingly resolved that unless Dominion Status was granted during the next year, this goal should be definitely abandoned in favor of complete independence. Dominion Status has not been granted during that time, and in the opinion of the Congress leaders, the Labor Party's promises have neither power nor good faith behind them. It was clear at least that the Dominion Status contemplated by Wedgewood Benn and the Viceroy was not the complete autonomy within the Empire that Congressmen demanded, or at least that the Government was not prepared to stake its future on the question. From an Indian point of view the MacDonald Government were free to compromise on domestic issues, but were faced here with a direct ethical question—whether or not they would be the tools of a tyrannical system. Their demand was that Mr. MacDonald should stake his political future on Indian rights just as Gladstone did on Irish Home Rule.

THE year has therefore failed to bring with it any adequate answer to Indian demands and when the Congress met at Lahore it had to cope with a rising tide of discontent and disillusionment. On December 23rd the Viceroy gave an interview to Mahatma Gandhi, Motilal Nehru, President Patel, Sir Tei Bahadur Sapru (the Liberal leader), and Mr. Jinnah (Moslem Moderate). This was an eleventh hour effort on the part of those concerned to effect a solution of the deadlock between the Government and the Congress leaders. Sapru and Jinnah, though they had signed the Delhi Manifesto offering a *conditional* acceptance to the Government's proposals, and though those conditions had been neither fulfilled nor promised by the Government, wavered before the alluring prospect of the Round Table Conference. Patel, as the Assembly President, had no official opinion on the matter, though he is an old Congressman and known to hold with their general views. But Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Motilal Nehru remained firm. As signatories of the Delhi Manifesto and representatives of the Congress they could not retreat from their position without betraying both their own word and the Mandate issued in the Calcutta resolution. Such then was the case before the Congress when it met at Lahore last Christmas.

A small group, headed by Mr. Satyamurthi and Mr. Kelkar considered that the Mahatma's attitude to Lord Irwin had been too stiff and uncompromising. These were mostly Mahrattas of the school of Tilak, who took a pragmatic view of politics and justified every inconsistency by the end attained. Gandhi's reply to them was adamant and dictatorial. The whole question had been previously discussed at Calcutta and a definite decision arrived at. The only question was whether the Congress should stand by its word or not. "Our word of honor is involved," said Gandhi. The position taken up by the two leaders was confirmed by an overwhelming majority and independence declared to be the immediate goal of the Indian National Congress.

On the active programme there proved to be much greater division. There being no preparation for immediate civil disobedience, that question did not arise as a first issue. Division occurred chiefly as to the extent with which the boycott of Government institutions ought to be pursued.

The programme of the Congress up to date has consisted primarily of three items, viz.: the furtherance of "khaddar" and boycott of foreign cloth, the

campaign against untouchability and the anti-drink campaign. All these have a political significance as well as the immediate social and economic object. They represent the movement against economic imperialism, the movement towards political unity and the war on the Government revenues. It was now moved by Mahatma Gandhi with the support of the Nehrus that there should be a political boycott of central and provincial legislatures, as in 1921. Since membership of the Councils and Assembly requires the taking of the oath of allegiance, this would be the only consistent course for a party pledged to independence, and would be a necessary preliminary to any widespread campaign of civil disobedience.

The unity of the solid majority on this point is important. Just as the independence resolution brought Mr. Gandhi and Motilal Nehru with the older congressmen into line with Pandit Jarwaharlal and the younger group, so the boycott of central and provincial legislatures healed the breach between Mr. Gandhi's party of "No Changers" (who had continued to boycott the councils since 1921) and the main party, including Pandit Motilal Nehru, who went back on this decision. The excellent personal feeling which has always existed between Gandhi and the Nehrus and to which the Mahatma's action with regard to the presidency had greatly added, was now cemented by political unity, and a strong group formed on an undivided platform. Motilal Nehru carries with him the older politicians and the professional classes; Gandhi the idealists and the masses, whilst the young president of the Congress, Jarwaharlal Nehru, brings in the younger section and the rising tide of trade unionism. Such an alliance cannot last forever, but the British Government will have to play their cards very cleverly to break it in the next few years.

The chief opposition to the new programme within the Congress comes from two sources. Some members, such as Pandit Madan Mohun Malaviya are strongly opposed to all political boycott, and some resignations are anticipated. Like the "Responsivists" in 1924, they will probably break away and join the "Nationalist" party which favors a sort of qualified coöperation with the Government, treating each case on its own merits. On the other side Subhash Bose and the Bengal "Independence-Wallahs" have been pressing for an even fuller scheme of non-coöperation. The conduct of this party during the whole session had revealed more personal pique than anything else. An open rupture occurred at the first sitting of the Congress Committee, when Bose challenged the elder Nehru's policy ruling with regard to some disputed elections in Bengal, of which Motilal Nehru had been appointed arbiter. Jarwaharlal, as president, upheld his father's authority, which was in fact unquestionable. It was therefore suspected not without ground, that when Bose moved the boycotting of other bodies, including the law-courts, it was a deliberate hit at Motilal Nehru, who is a very successful barrister. The various amendments of the Bengal party have been pushed hard, and obtained a measure of support thanks to the personal prestige of Bose who has come in for a large share of popularity owing to his detention for two years under the Bengal Ordinances.

GANDHI'S policy, however, of non-coöperation by progressive stages has had the day. How far it can be successfully carried through is a matter of doubt even among the supporters of this programme. Thanks to the communal electorates and the favored treatment afforded to the Moslems and Sikhs by the Government, communal tension is far higher than it was in 1921. The Government has made the most of the minority problems, and unity has been made extremely difficult. Here in the Punjab the Sikhs, who only number 12 per cent of the population, have been given a 30 per cent representation on the legislatures, and the same policy has been pursued with the Moslem minorities. The result is a clamor for special treatment of this type by all the minorities, and Congress has to choose between promising outrageous concessions (which it has refused to do) and forfeiting the support of the communally-minded. In a conversation I had with Dr. Mahmoud, a Mohammedan member of the Congress Committee, he expressed grave doubts of the success of non-coöperation under such circumstances.

The moderates, too, have definitely broken from their coöperation with the Congress since the last conference at Delhi, and no help is to be expected from them. They represent, however, only a very small section of the business and professional interests. Of greater importance is the growing popularity of the Workers and Peasants Party and its sister organization, the Youth League. The former party received a gratuitous advertisement from the Government, who are now prosecuting a number of people at Meerut for the crime of belonging to it. It appears a worthless and disorderly body, from its behavior here, but naturally it is now quite fashionable to join it. It is significant that in place of the promised Sikh and Moslem riots, the only trouble here has been caused by the Workers and Peasants Party. They have mustered in force at Lahore, where they walk up and down with red flags attacking the Congress leaders with great bitterness for not going fast enough; and on two occasions they have made a mass attack on the Congress tent, being repulsed with difficulty by a strong force of "National Volunteers"—the Congress militia who are policing the camp.

This fact serves to illustrate the danger of going too slowly, which has to be reckoned with by Congress

just as much as the danger of going too fast. One way they alienate the moderates, but the other way they give a handle to the extremist faction which is every day a growing force, especially when the holding of political opinions is a criminal offense punishable by imprisonment.

THE rest is a matter for speculation. The futility of a Round Table Conference at which the Congress will not be represented must be plain to anyone who realizes the size and power of this body. But whether Congress will succeed in more than the obstructive aspect of their policy cannot yet be seen. The new policy is at least a factor which will cause the Government some serious anxiety and possibly even shake its financial credit, since dissociation from the Empire will entail a repudiation of debts incurred by the Government for imperial purposes, e.g., military expenses incurred in the Great War, concessions to English capitalists, etc. But whether they feel the flames now or in ten years' time, the fire has certainly been lit and the tending of it is in the ablest hands. Whoever may be to blame for it, the last chance has passed for the reconciliation of interests as between India and the British Empire, and the stage is set for one of the greatest dramas—perhaps one of the greatest tragedies—in the history of the world.

# My Impressions of America

A. FENNER BROCKWAY

*EDITOR'S NOTE: "Tell us," we said, braving the prejudice against British visitors who write us up on too-too-brief acquaintance, "what your personal impressions of us really are, after addressing 40,000 of us and speeding through our social movements, a million more or less. Our readers will never hold it up against you." And (as the fiction editors say, with a flourish) so . . .*

*Skyscrapers*

ONE of the entertaining reporters who met my boat at New York put two questions to me: "What do you think of New York's sky-line?" and "What do you think of America's sex-freedom?" I replied first that he and his fellow newspaper men had kept me so imprisoned in my cabin that I hadn't had an opportunity to see the sky-line, and, second, that I obviously couldn't give an opinion of America's sex-freedom before I had landed in America. But perhaps I may now answer these two questions in passing. I have found the skyscrapers beautiful and impressive. I like their massive strength, their simple, clear-cut outlines, their proportions in design. They are distinctively American. With most other architecture I have seen in America I am disappointed. Washington, for example, is beautifully planned, but its buildings are not especially expressive of America. They are in the classic style. Some of the American universities comprise splendid groups of buildings; but, again, I have seen little that is original or creative among them. Some of your railway stations are magnificent; the Second Presbyterian Church at Buffalo is unique in its exquisite design and coloring. But for the most part American cities strike me as ugly, crude, untidy places, no improvement upon our British industrial centres. Except for the skyscrapers, I have seen no achitecture in America that is vital and adventurous like the new architecture of Germany or Holland or Vienna.

*Sex-Freedom*

As for America's "sex-freedom," my observation has led me to the view that American girls are more reserved than British. My impression is that the relations of the sexes here are more natural, healthy, wholesome; there is less evidence of sex-consciousness. This may of course be due to less sex-repression. I do not know. The only instance I have experienced of unusual feminine audacity was this: Out in the Middle West I had delivered a long speech and then had answered questions for forty minutes. I was tired. But immediately the meeting was over I was mobbed by people wanting to put further questions. Suddenly through the mob burst three girls. Two took my arms and one propelled me from behind. "Who are you?" I asked. "It doesn't matter," they said, "you are coming with us." "Who are these young hooligans?" I asked the officials of the meeting. "Am I safe with them?" "Of course you are safe with us," said the girls; and before I knew what had happened they had rushed me into a car and away to a quiet club for supper. "We couldn't bear to see you put under third-degree questioning by that bunch," they explained. I still do not know who those young ladies were; but I owe them a debt of gratitude for their thoughtfulness and good cheer.

*Prohibition*

Before proceeding to more fundamental things, I will answer a third question put to me everywhere. It was, of course: "What do you think of Prohibition?" During the month I was in America I saw

five people drunk. Travelling in the same way in England I should have seen fifty. But I am not sure that the matter can be settled as simply as that. I found everywhere evidences of the disrespect with which the law is treated. Two of the drunks were supplied with liquor in a public restaurant; two of them were openly drinking whiskey in a train; the fourth had been to a banquet at a large hotel. In Buffalo I saw a barrel of liquor openly rolled across a pavement from a car to a house. In a restaurant at Niagara Falls Canadian beer was brought to the table. Conversation in trains and other public places revealed the existence of a vast, illicit traffic in intoxicants, highly profitable and apparently often conducted with the bribed connivance of the police. It is very doubtful whether a law of that kind does not in the long run do more harm than good.

### *The Crime Wave*

Law, indeed, seems generally to command less respect in America than in England. We are closing down prisons; you are opening new prisons. Our prison population has fallen from 30,000 to 12,000 in fifty years; your prison population is increasing. We don't have your "gangs" and "racketeers" with their close relation to police and politicians. Nor is the capitalist philosophy of "getting dough for yourself and downing the other fellow" so crudely rife in England.

A large part of America seems to me motived by sheer material gain, and that motive pays very little attention to law. If it cannot make dollars legally, it will do so illegally (there is often little moral difference). This poison of modern civilization, if it corrupts the public to any large degree, will inevitably corrupt the police and the politicians. American Capitalism is remorseless, utterly ruthless, and its fruit is ugly.

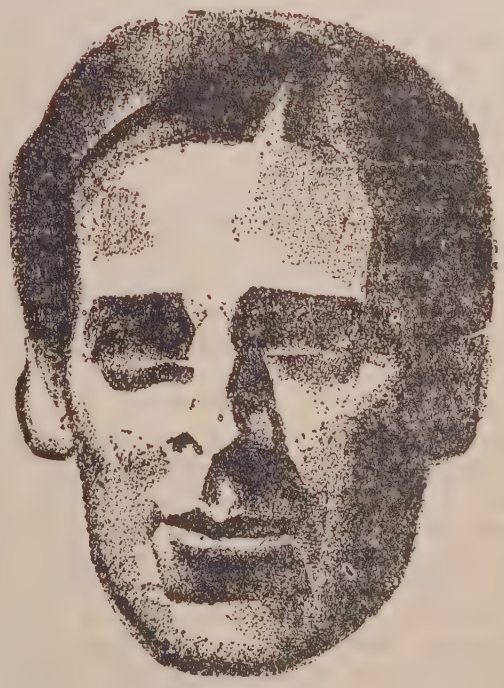
### *Prosperity*

My first impression of New York was certainly one of astonishing prosperity—or, rather, the *second* impression, for the dock district is squalid like all dock districts. Great posters exhort "Forward America!" and assert "Business is good. Keep it good. Nothing can stop U.S.A.!" Half the girls one meets are clad in furs. The men are more smartly dressed than Englishmen. Motor-cars sweep the streets in an unending stream. The towering buildings, the luxurious stations, the blaze of lighted signs, the crowded stores—everything indicates material well-being. But even in New York one soon probes beneath the surface. There is a wilderness of drab streets with all the signs of poverty. One notices a long line of "down-and-outs" outside a mission; they are waiting for the soup, not the sermon. One inquires of trade union organizers, social workers, officials of social security organizations, statisticians. They tell of growing unemployment and of wages for unskilled workers far below the poverty line.

In Detroit and Chicago one finds an unemployment problem as urgent as in England. Automobile works have reduced their forces by 25 per cent. The wages of the unskilled in Chicago mean semi-starvation. Above all, one gets an impression of terrible economic strain. The men in the works are simply speeded-up automata. This machine revolves so many times a minute; that man performs one motion so many times a minute. If he doesn't, the whole process goes out of gear, and someone is soon on the spot to know the reason why.

Moreover, behind this nervous tension is always the Great Dread—the fear of being fired. These huge factories are not workshops; they are prisons. And (savage irony) the severest punishment is notice of discharge. The modern wage slave is held in thrall quite as much as the serf of the Middle Ages.

We have some of this massed and speeded production in England, of course, and every day we are getting more. Undoubtedly the general standard of living is higher here. But I have seen enough of America to realize that it is not the Eldorado for the workers it is sometimes represented to be.



FENNER BROCKWAY, M. P.

*A sketch of the British Independent Labourite and former editor of the London "New Leader."*

*—Courtesy League for Public Discussion*

*Towards a Third Party*

Yet I leave America with an unexpected hopefulness. I realize your difficulties as I did not before—the philosophy of materialistic individualism, the racial confusion, the conservatism of organized Labor, the absence of organization among the unskilled, the vast distances and differences between East, Middle West, and West, the important farming problem, the power of Republican and Democratic machines, the close connection between police and politicians, and the consequent temptation to be on good terms with the dominant party—all these and other difficulties. But despite all the principalities and powers arrayed against you, I see with absolute certainty the coming of a Third Party which shall boldly challenge them.

The first evidence is the uneasiness of the Intellectuals. I was astonished by the widespread conviction at the universities, in the Christian ministry, and among the cultured classes that something is radically rotten in modern civilization and its politics. We had comparatively little of this conviction in Britain before the formation of our Third Party. Indeed, despite the popularity of the Labour Party I doubt whether our professors, parsons, and professionals are even now as radical as yours. At the universities I found this progressive attitude among both the faculties and the students. (Some of these student groups, especially the young fellows doing picket duty in the strikes, gave me a great "kick!") In the churches I found that the influence of certain well known liberals is reaching out to centres of such reaction that the ministers of religion seem to be the only light in the darkness. In the homes of professional men I found a general feeling of revolt against the domination of materialism, and a seeking after a social order in which man shall be master of the machine, in which the mind and spirit will be liberated. To be sure, it is possible that I came into contact with the best and that they are not typical. But I am confident you have enough of the best to create a great movement.

*The Labor Movement*

There is one thing, however, which I think America must guard against. That is the creation of a brain without a body. This new movement is fundamentally a movement for industrial freedom, and freedom can never be imposed from above. The intellectuals may provide facts and ideas, but the movement itself must come from the masses. Here you are in an unfavorable position compared with the conditions out of which our Third Party in Britain arose. Your labor organizations are less approachable than ours, although it should be remembered that when Keir Hardie first urged the British Trade Union Congress to take independent political action forty years ago he was regarded as an impossibilist and a traitor. You have reason for hope, however, in a number of directions. While the League for Independent Political Action is influencing the intellectuals, farmers, and labor, the Conference for Progressive Labor Action is beginning to influence self-conscious working-class organizations. One of my most significant meetings was that of the Independent Labor Party at Niagara Falls, a group of trade unionists who have spontaneously got together for political action, exactly in the manner of a British Labor Party local. I learned that there are similar groups at New Bedford and other places. The enlightened power of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the new organization of the miners in Illinois, the development of a new unionism of the unskilled in the South, the influence of Jim Maurer in Pennsylvania, the interest in independent political action on the part of officials of the A. F. of L. in Chicago and elsewhere, the penetration by Brookwood College and its students—all these are growing and gathering forces out of which the body of the Third Party will in time be built.

*The Socialists*

The second desirability is the development of a strong Socialist organization within the new Third Party to guide it toward its only hopeful goal. To the courage and loyalty to principle of the American Socialist Party amid overwhelming difficulties I pay unstinted tribute. It has been a joy to meet Morris Hillquit, Norman Thomas, Harry Laidler and many others of its representatives. These men and their party deserve much greater support than is being given by many who acknowledge themselves to be Socialists and yet refrain from joining the Party. I have heard the complaint that the Socialist Party is a sect rather than a movement, that it has an uncreative minority mind, that it is out of touch with the progressive thought and life of America, that it has little contact with the actual struggle of the working class, that it has made the name "Socialism" unpopular and prejudicial. Suppose all this be true. The fact remains that Socialism is the hope of America, that the Socialists have borne the torch alight in the face of the unpopular gale, and that without Socialism the new Third Party will inevitably fail. I appeal to the unattached and unrevealed Socialists who read these words to declare themselves openly by joining the Party and devoting themselves to its service. "Socialism" used to be an unpopular name in Britain. It has only become popular by Socialists avowing their convictions and challenging the prejudice that surrounded their cause.

*The Pacifist Movement*

A word or two about the pacifist movement in America. There are four organizations attached to

the War Resisters' International under whose auspices I came here: the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the War Resisters' League, the Women's Peace Society, and the Women's Peace Union. The F.O.R. is undoubtedly doing magnificent educational work among the religious organizations, and I am convinced that a specialized approach is necessary there. In my opinion, the Women's Peace Union has made a big contribution by providing a political focussing point for pacifists in its total disarmaments amendment to the Constitution. It was good to hear that the Women's International League has endorsed this, and I should like to see the F.O.R., the Quakers, and the other pacifist groups doing the same. The Women's Peace Society is disseminating courageous propaganda, and the War Resisters' League has done useful work in registering the names of adherents and extending knowledge of the International.

But I am convinced that the time has come for a new approach. America has no comprehensive pacifist organization like the British No More War Movement. Pacifism in the United States is still expressed by sectional groups rather than by a wide-based organization reaching out to every sphere of creative thought and life and influencing them toward its philosophy and practice. I do not mean to imply that America should completely adopt the British model in peace organization any more than in third party organization. War resistance is not such an immediate issue as in Britain where we are nearer the turmoil of European conflicts and more deeply impressed by the experiences of the Great War. I think the basis of the wider organization which I have in mind must be the application of the pacifist philosophy to civilization and its immediate problems as a whole (the use of violence in strikes, for example, or the treatment of crime), and that the war resistance declaration must be only one expression of an all-inclusive faith. It is clear to me that if the younger generation is to be won, this larger approach must be made. For this development two things are required: first, the statement of the new philosophy and its practical application; second, a thoroughly efficient organization, with a good committee and a full-time executive secretary. This advance must not be rushed, but I am hopeful that now the idea has been set in motion it will find early expression.

*Military Training*

There is one field of activity in America where war resistance can find immediate reflection—in your universities and schools where military training is actually or in effect compulsory. A Joint Council of the War Resisters' International, the Women's International League, the Society of Friends, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and other international peace groups are now planning a world-wide campaign against the military training of youth. I have no doubt that the Committee on Militarism in Education will participate. Your college training schemes represent a stronghold of militarism; they are an effective point for immediate and challenging attack. In Britain more than 200 members of Parliament have signed a memorial asking the Government to withdraw State grants to the Officers' Training Corps and the Cadet Corps in the universities and schools. In Australia the new Labor Government has suspended its compulsory military training scheme. In New Zealand 50,000 boys have resisted military training. This is a world-wide movement of tremendous possibilities. It cannot be long before America will have not only a nation-wide protest against military training but actual resistance. Then and not before, point and actuality will be given to pacifism in your country.

## Lapse

ACROSS the Oregon Trail
The paved road glares with grease
And the cars spring by like ghouls—
Raucous honks and laughter.

A place for the sky to bow,
A grave with rocks upon it;
Cobble stones from the stream
Placed one by one among tears.
A simple wooden cross
Saying only, "Pioneer Woman"
And the year and day of her passing.

Along the Oregon Trail—
And the motor cars spin and roar,
Reverence flung in a picnic basket,
Powdered faces leering.

"Pass that next car, honey!"
"There now, what'd I tell you?
The ox team's got a puncture;
Hind foot blew out an inner tube.
Get the thermos? Your flask's okay.
The wooden pail to the spring?"
"Cigarettes, kid! Whatcha think this is,
An Indian massacre?"
You got your nerve taking
One of those rocks for a souvenir.
That jane that's dead under there
'Sapt to hafta take asperin,
Catch cold.
Funny to see this cross.
What a tombstone for—
Say, get going!
When do we eat?"

HELEN MARING

# Not in the Headlines

### Negro College Students

The total number of Negro students attending 39 Negro and 65 Northern colleges and universities last year, according to *The Crisis,* was 19,253, while last year's Negro graduates numbered 2,160.

### C. P. L. A. and Steel

The Conference for Progressive Labor Action, expressing the conviction that "a militant labor movement must tackle every open shop stronghold," is now engaged in a preliminary survey of the steel industry looking to future action at a suitable later time.

### Lynchings in 1929

There were twelve known lynchings in the United States during 1929, as against eleven in 1928. Florida led the list of states, with four mob murders, according to the National Association for the Advancement for Colored People. Of the twelve persons lynched, four were white, and of these one was a woman striker, Ella May Wiggins, at Gastonia, N. C.

### Altruism Among Firemen

Believing that the five per cent pay increase granted them by the Board of Fire Commissioners might better be used to alleviate poverty and unemployment in the city, Detroit firemen announced that they would ask the Board to rescind its action. They recommended that the $215,900 proposed increase be used to employ men who need work to provide for their families.

### Juvenile Delinquency

A recent report issued by the Children's Bureau of the Labor Department indicates that delinquency cases constitute the bulk of those which came before 42 juvenile courts in fifteen different states. Of the total number of children who came to the courts, 250,456 were delinquents, while 12,150 were victims of dependency and neglect. Eighty-four per cent of the delinquent children were white while 16 per cent were Negro. More than two-thirds of the boys were charged with stealing or minor acts of carelessness and mischief. In the case of the girls, truancy, "running away," opposition to parental control, and sex offenses were the most frequent charges.

### More About Wages

The Information Bureau on Women's Work, Toledo, Ohio, has analyzed employers' reports and concludes that the average earnings of Ohio industrial wage earners for 1928 were $1,447.75; of Ohio clerical workers $1,633.65; and of Ohio salesmen and saleswomen in stores, $1,407.17. These wages constitute actual gains in real wages since 1915 of 32.3% for wage earners, 22.8% for clerical workers, and 25.7% for salespeople. However, it is obvious that a high percentage of the workers in this progressive state, as the Cincinnati Women's League says in summarizing these figures, are earning less than $1,641, conservatively estimated by the Living Costs committee of the Cincinnati League of Women Voters as necessary to support a family of five on a minimum budget.

### War Pensions

Aggregate war pensions paid by the United States Government for the last fiscal year amounted to $229,889,986.48 and were distributed to 477,915 pensions.

### A Mexican Protest

The Regional Workers' Federation in Mexico City has protested against conditions of workers in American-owned fields of the United Sugar Company at Los Mochis in Sinaloa. The men are said to work twelve hours a day for the equivalent of 47 cents in American money. During a recent strike they were maltreated and many of their leaders were imprisoned by the company.

### Dr. Johnson to Liberia

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, formerly editor of *Opportunity* and now Director of the Social Science Department of Fisk University, has been appointed by President Hoover as the American member of an international commission to investigate slavery and forced labor in Liberia. Dr. Johnson is a member of the editorial council of THE WORLD TOMORROW.

### Collegians "Being Their Age"?

Barnard College sopohomores have dropped the old custom of hazing freshmen. In its place, by vote of the executive board of the second-year class, freshmen last fall were given a welcome supper, were allowed to decide for themselves whether they should dance or go to the theatre after supper, and also to choose whether they wished to recite the traditional pledge of "humility and good conduct."

### Eliminating Employees

Improved machinery in four major industries—farming, manufacturing, railroading, and mining—has eliminated about 2,300,000 employees in the last eight years, according to Harry W. Laidler, vice-president of the National Bureau of Economic Research. Dr. Laidler's survey stressed improved machinery as one of four factors contributing to a permanent unemployment problem. The others are seasonal unemployment, cyclical unemployment, and, fourth, the discrimination in industry against workers over 40 years of age.

### A German Pacifist Party

Although small as yet, the Christlich-Soziale Reichspartei is probably the only pacifist political party in the world. It has an organ, *Das Neue Volk,* edited by Vitus Heller, which is in favor of war resistance. In a leading article the journal recently said: "Never shall we be able to recognize a Christianity, or representatives of Christianity, who bless murderous weapons and who preach hatred and war! Never shall we be able to recognize parties and politicians as 'Christian' who vote for cruisers and defense credits, and for poison gas manufacture. Never shall we elect members of the Reichstag who do not denounce bloody violence and manslaughter, who, in face of modern war, do not stand for war resistance and war sabotage, and who do not do their utmost to create a real basis for the peace of the nations."

# Preacher Without Authority

## *The Story of John Haynes Holmes**

TO paint a picture of John Haynes Holmes is one of the most difficult tasks I have ever attempted. He is so versatile, he is elusive. He is impossible to pigeon-hole. He cannot be tagged. To say that he is vivid means little. There are many flashing facets to his brilliant personality. He is alive in more areas than most of our present-day leaders.

Few men in New York work as hard as Holmes. Try to make an appointment with him about some important matter, and you will find his calender filled with matters of even greater moment. He is constructively busy every hour of the day and far into the night. On Saturday he buries himself at home in order to be uninterrupted in the preparation of his Sunday services. But when he finds himself approaching the ragged edge physically and spiritually he withdraws from the crowd and departs to places where he can commune with those refreshing streams of life that give hope and courage. He knows how to appropriate the resources of tranquillity. Beset as he is by the never-ending flow of distractions in the most terrifying city of the world, he has learned how to dissociate himself from its grip and clasp hands with the eternal forces which are ever present but which few men know how to use or even how to approach.

HOLMES is a city man. Born in Philadelphia but educated and trained in Boston he has for the past twenty-three years labored in New York City where he has come into intimate contact with all classes, races and nationalities. I doubt if he knows much about farmers as such. But I am certain he knows human beings, whether an Irish policeman in the Bowery or one of China's brilliant literati at Columbia University.

With him brotherhood is a passion. Few contemporary leaders have put as much content into the world as Holmes. And what a laboratory New York offers him in which to test and prove his theories on his great enthusiasm!

Here is one dramatic illustration of the methods he employs in teaching this ideal. On the tenth anniversary of the founding of the League of Nations Mr. Holmes asked thirty-one members of the Community Church, born in thirty-one different countries, to come into the pulpit. At his direction they lit candles at the common altar of brotherhood, each in celebration of the country of his birth. At the close of the service Mr. Holmes gave to each representative of the nations and to the congregation, a pledge of service to humanity and to the cause of human brotherhood.

John Haynes Holmes is an intellectual. Not the superior, arrogant type who makes one uncomfortable and angry but the friendly man of culture who leaves one glowing and refreshed after contact. Harvard gave him a degree but what is more important she—he says it was Harvard—gave him a sense of fairness and a sense of democracy. There is no snobbery about him. He has the gift of lucid speech. His strong, direct, challenging language whether in the verbal or written form makes friends as well as enemies. One of his admirers told me that Holmes had more fights than any pacifist of his acquaintance. His speech and his writing fairly bristle with exclamation points.

HOLMES is an intellectual, but not—so many of his friends insist—a scientific thinker. He often rushes off with a temporary and ill-grounded enthusiasm, and in these excursions he always travels to the end of the line. He is, therefore, often extravagant in his judgments and utterances. But behind all this is an essentially kind and generous nature. He has probably established an international record for the number of other people's books to which he has written introductions. Could he have thought all these as good as he said they were? Incredible! But warmth is always more constructive than frigidity, and there is something sub-tropical in Holmes' mental equipment.

Although I have felt his charm in his study and over the luncheon table I like best to think of him as standing in his pulpit talking to his people. In a rich, vibrant, beautifully cultured voice he speaks always as an idealist. Enlivened and enriched by a real sense of humor his messages emerge from a storehouse of knowledge that characterizes the constant student.

More than one adjective is required to describe him. Tall, energetic, dynamic, features full of character, strong chin, lips a bit stern but readily breaking into a smile, brow knit by hard study, hair abundant and iron gray, shoulders erect, he at once commands respect and confidence. A leader, a man of action is one's immediate appraisal. During his fifty years he has been newsboy, student, clergyman, journalist, magazine editor, author, book lover and collector, enthusiastic theatregoer, musician, husband, father, student of social and political history, courageous pacifist, ardent democrat, and social reformer.

His New England ancestry on both sides of the

* One of a series of biographical sketches of pathfinders to a new society, published anonymously to permit greater frankness in treatment. Reproduction limited to 300 words.

family extends back to early colonial days. His forbears helped make the traditions of our country. The fact that he was born in Philadelphia was an accident —his family being in business there for a short time. It was in Boston that he grew up and it was there that he was educated.

"My father was a poor man," he says, "but he had a keen taste for the artistic and cultured things of life. Probably that is why he was unsuccessful in business. He heartily approved my decision to enter the ministry for he saw that in it I would realize the things of life which he cherished so highly.

"As a poor boy I tried to bring in some extra money by running a news route after school hours. For seven years I kept at it. The extra money I made was used in buying books. Books are one of my hobbies. I have always loved books and have always enjoyed collecting them. At the present time I own between nine and ten thousand volumes. I have also collected autographs but have not made much headway chiefly because it is so expensive these days."

In referring to his education he grows enthusiastic about the schools of Boston.

"I was educated in the public schools, first because they are excellent, secondly because my father believed in public school education and thirdly because we had no money with which to send me to private schools."

After graduating from elementary school he attended the public high school and entered Harvard University. He loves Harvard. His son Roger graduated from there a few years ago and is now a faculty member in the School of Education.

He achieved the distinction of graduating in three years' time with a summa cum laude and a Phi Beta Kappa membership. He became an active member of the debating team and looks back with prideful reminiscence to the time when he helped beat Yale. His major subjects were philosophy and history. Much to his regret he took very little economics.

Two years after being graduated from the University in 1902, he took his theological degree from Harvard Divinity School. He had already been ordained as a minister in the Free Religious Society of Dorchester, the ancient suburb of Boston. Three days after his graduation he married Madeleine Baker of Brooklyn.

HOLMES preached in a Unitarian Church in Dorchester until 1907 when he came to New York to become the spiritual leader of the Church of the Messiah which has been known as the Community Church since 1919.

"I found it a wealthy, conservative, old institution," he has told me, "where the parishioners owned the pews—owned them mind you—but I had a wonderful counsellor in Dr. Collyer, the minister emeritus. It took me ten years to change the policy about the pews.

*—From an etching by Bernard Sanders*

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

"I soon found myself growing radical; in fact I became a Socialist. One day Dr. Collyer asked me, 'What's this socialism you are talking?' I explained my ideas as best I could and ended by saying I was a Christian Socialist.

" 'I don't understand it,' replied the old gentleman, 'I don't like it. But if you believe it, preach it for all you are worth.' "

Then and there the principle of freedom in thought and action was established for the Community Church. This principle was further demonstrated at an exceedingly dramatic moment years after in a service which I shall describe later. Holmes' preaching tended to bring in the radical and democratic elements that had not previously been noticeable. He found it necessary to establish the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice for the purpose of propagating radical thought on religious, social and political problems in the Unitarian Brotherhood.

At the present time John Haynes Holmes is proud of his congregation as a true cross section of the city.

Perhaps I can best illustrate this point by saying that upon my first visit to his church I was met in the vestibule by an East Indian and ushered well down toward the front. It was early, and finding myself seated between a Negro and a Jew, remarked that it seemed to be a church of all nations.

"Well, from my experience," replied the son of Israel, "it is the most democratic church I have found in New York."

"What kind of man is Holmes?" I ventured.

"Most popular. You can see for yourself that the church is full even with the debate between Bertrand Russell and Will Durant now going on up town. He holds his crowd against great competition."

Any discussion of the Community Church idea would be unfair without saying at the outset that John Haynes Holmes has been an outstanding pioneer in this field of religious endeavor. In his book *New Churches for Old* he pleads for churches based on democratic social idealism instead of on the present basis of sectarian, theological beliefs. He would "substitute for loyalty to the denomination, loyalty to the social group; for a private group of worshipers held together by common theological ideas, the public group of citizens held together by common social interests; for restrictions of creed and ritual, the free spirit; for the individual as an object of salvation, the social group; for Christianity as a religion of special revelation, the idea of universal religion."

WHEN Holmes changed the name of the Church of the Messiah to that of the Community Church, he turned the institution upside down with his revolutionary policies and practices. First of all, the church became independent and undenominational. Membership was open to everyone without restrictions or financial demands. The complete control of the church was placed in the hands of the congregation.

On the matter of denominationalism this "preacher without authority" has said some very strong things. Writing not long ago in the outstanding religious journal of America he says:

> I have no desire to be temperate on this question of the denominational differences and divisions of Christianity. I will wager the most precious and beloved "first edition" in my library against a damaged copy of a year book of any denomination of any year that when the angels look upon our sectarian churches they weep, and when the devils look upon them they laugh and dance in glee. As I am not yet either an angel or a devil, I neither weep nor laugh. But as a man I cry out in protest against this tragic travesty upon religion, and in anger against those who have the face to apologize for it. You can explain the Protestant denominations historically, you can describe them scientifically, you can defend them ecclesiastically, but you can't justify them morally. Their existence is an exact measure of the failure of Christians to be Christians.

"We are not even a Christian church now," he declared when I asked him to comment further on the Community Church. "We have a third or more Jews. And furthermore I speak as much in Jewish Synagogues as I do in my own church. All the Christian denominations are represented and our congregation includes Roman Catholics who go to Mass at nine and come here at eleven. We have several Hindus. We have no color line. Many Negroes sit in our congregation alongside the white folks. They also sit on our committees and are our honored representatives."

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES is an ardent pacifist. What led him to take up the fight for a warless world with such conviction and passion?

From his student days he was the conventional, orthodox peace advocate. He knew Edward Everett Hale personally as well as other leaders in the pre-War peace movement, but had never thought through the question. And then the Great War burst upon the world. The War was a terrible shock to him. It started him thinking fundamentally on the whole difficult problem of peace and war. He could not bring himself to believe that Germany was the monster her enemies painted her to be. In his eagerness to get at the bottom of the question he prepared and delivered a series of penetrating sermons which were later put into a book, *New Wars for Old.* He was so moved by the whole experience that he considered joining the Quakers and even went so far as to take the initial steps. At the end of the entire exploration he discovered himself to be a convinced believer in non-violent resistance.

In order to find an avenue through which to express himself outside the church, he became a moving spirit in the organization of what was later to develop into the American Civil Liberties Union. This society was first a Committee against Preparedness and later a Committee against Militarism.

"Nothing has given me more satisfaction than my work with the Civil Liberties Union!" he exclaimed while we were discussing its work in the War and the post-War years. Late in the War its headquarters were raided. The leaders, including Holmes, got bail and prepared for arrest. But soon after this the Armistice came.

Reverting to the dramatic moment in his life mentioned above, I must say that it came not when secret service agents began watching him or not even when the offices of the Union were raided. This most significant chapter of his entire career came on the brink of our entry into the Great War when he stood before his people and preached a sermon entitled, *A Statement to My People on the Eve of War.* It was a fine, sensitive, but extreme and bold declaration of his non-coöperation with war.

Not a member of his official board of trustees agreed with him and they told him so when they called the next day. But they unanimously agreed that as a free minister of a free church, he should speak his mind. They asked for no resignation and Holmes continued his labors unhampered. What a red letter day in his life! And what a tribute to the spirit of his trustees!

That sermon was later scattered behind the Allied lines by German aviators. Sections of it were incorporated in statements used by a certain religious sect in the Middle West. Many of its members had it used against them as evidence and they were later sent to federal prisons as traitors and pacifists. Curiously enough Holmes himself escaped. Was it due to the fact that the government is reluctant to move against courageous individuals who have strong convictions and some influence? Must the weak suffer while the strong wax stronger?

NOT the least influence of this many-sided preacher is exerted through *Unity*, the weekly paper he edits. In the pages of *Unity* first appeared the complete plan for the Outlawry of War worked out by Salmon O. Levinson. Here also have appeared some of the finest things in print regarding Gandhi and non-violence.

Holmes is far too salty to win acclaim from conventional universities. He never worked for a doctor's degree, and he has never had one laid upon his quizzical brow. He insists he is "Mr." Holmes, and a year or so ago he had to ask newspaper men—he is always news—to quit calling him "Dr." But he is called that still, by almost everybody.

I have not been able to classify Mr. Holmes religiously. All I have discovered is that he is not an atheist. When I have asked him to tell me what he believed, he has said he has never made a statement on that subject. I cannot, therefore, put him down as a Unitarian or a humanist or any other kind of religious "ist." I have discovered, however, a man with a warm heart and an alert mind who believes intensely in the spiritual interpretation of life rather than in the materialistic—a man who works incessantly in a multitude of ways, well known and little known, to carry the world toward a noble destiny. In men like Holmes rests the surest hope that such a future for the race is not a shallow dream.

# Mysticism and Social Passion*

VIDA D. SCUDDER

MYSTICISM is a word to conjure with nowadays. The eighteenth century spoke it with a sneer, the nineteenth century apologetically; the twentieth revives it. A large and popular literature produced by minds as disparate as Dean Inge, Evelyn Underhill, and Rufus Jones, gathers around interpretation of the historical mystics: organizations many and sometimes weird study Rosicrucianism, Yogi practise strange Oriental cults. College students clamor to write themes on mysticism, and the Christian Churches have their own groups earnestly seeking a special initiation.

Meanwhile, I am far from sure that even the people who use the term most glibly always know what it means. I am sure I do not. Sometimes I think that when it is at its best, it suggests nothing more or less than our old and sadly discredited friend, "personal religion," remembered by many elderly people as the bugbear of their youth. I gather one thing from the definitions: mysticism always involves the note of experience, the conscious contact with Reality impalpable to sense. And yet I hesitate, for in these high and delicate matters desire and achievement are hard to divide, and one dares to think that a passionate aspiration holds within it the seed of its own fulfillment. Moreover, even at the instant of highest promise, illusion besets the past of the climbing aspirant. He is tormented by the fear of self-deception and has often to console himself rather sadly that, though he seek in vain to slake his thirst at the waters of the mirage in the desert, a mirage may none the less be the reflection of fair and substantial reality elsewhere.

Let it go at that. The word with all it implies may defy analysis and evade definition; but it stands for an actuality to which men have clung from the dawn of time; which the West has yearned for, the East has understood, which has drawn its votaries even in the most unpromising periods—were not Swedenborg and Blake eighteenth century men?—and about which men are as wistful today as ever. It connotes the imperative desire to rise, or rather to penetrate, to a plane where sense and matter cease—the insistent feeling that in the aspect of things there is more than meets the eye. As William Blake says:

> "For double the vision my eyes do see,
> For a double vision is always with me.
> With my inward eye, 'tis an Old Man grey,
> With my outward, a Thistle across my way."

* Second in a series of six articles on Religion and Contemporary Thought. Reproduction limited to 300 words.

All symbolisms, whether wildly fantastic or startlingly illuminative, witness to the inveterate instinct. The sudden invasions to which, like Browning's Caponsacchi, a man lies passive—the causeless ecstasies that read in "the silent faces" of the clouds "utterable love," the rising tide of awe and thanksgiving that submerges even a modern man in those rare hours when he can plunge into solitude (only some modern folk never know solitude except when they are asleep!)—these things all belong to that drama of the interior life in which alone some men in every age persist in finding reality behind the shifting phantasm of the world.

He is slippery, the mystic. He has a talent for evasion. Accuse him that his "reality" is nothing but his fantasy, and he may reply again with his friend Blake: "I know of no other Christianity and of no other Gospel than the liberty both of body and mind to exercise the Divine Arts of Imagination—Imagination, the real and eternal world, of which this Vegetable Universe is but a faint shadow, and in which we shall live in our Eternal and Imaginative Bodies when these Vegetable Mortal Bodies are no more."

TWO things covering the relation of mysticism to other approaches to truth are rather striking. One is the extraordinary reconciliation with science which is going on at the present minute. Insofar as the mystic mood involves a certain awed amaze, thinking persons must always, one would suppose, have been inspired by that mood in the presence of scientific discoveries. But fifty years ago and less, the increasing knowledge of nature and her laws was thought by many not wholly stupid people to be playing into the hands of the materialists. About face! Today, the more alertly minds press toward the mystery of the universe, the less material that mystery seems to be. "Physical theories do not reach ultimate realities," says Eddington: "We fashion them in our own image as symbols. And the frank recognition that physical science is concerned with a world of shadows, is one of the most significant of recent advances." Thus science now appears as ally-in-chief of the mystic, and even time and space at its bidding gyrate and interlock in dizzy manner while substance disappears. The old antagonism is at an end. But from another quarter comes an antagonism more subtle and perhaps more deadly. There is mutual distrust—not universal, yet very prevalent—between the mystic and the social reformer. Many people intensely solicitous for human welfare here and now, men filled with passion for justice and brotherhood, who want to get matters better arranged on the plane of visible experience, so that small children shall not work in factories and miners shall not be unemployed, have no use at all for mysticism. Its other-worldliness and what they call its self-centredness are repellent to them.

There is much to be said on their side, and if I had to choose between mystic and reformer, I would throw in my lot with the latter. How deny, if we look at history, that the mystical temper has led again and again to hard or dreamy apathy toward human suffering? The affairs of our brief sojourn in the flesh seem unimportant to it. Sometimes we note the gentle indifference of the East—full of compassionate tenderness, reluctant to take even animal life, but devoid of any positive impulse to save men by combatting, for instance, caste systems, acquiescent in the static misery of whole human strata. Again, we observe the frequent spiritual egotism of the mediaeval cloister where men and women sometimes whipped themselves into perversion of their natural instincts, pursuing selfish and transcendent fantasies that clamored for a Freud to reveal their true nature. Our Calvinist forefathers had a mysticism of their own, of an especially unlovely type. And each of these diverse forms has found philosophies, theologies to support it: ideas of Karma, implying that human miseries of any kind were deserved by the sufferer by his sins in previous lives; ideas of a compensating Heaven waiting after death for the patient, the submissive; fatalism as to any human responsibility toward social conditions ordained by God. That hope of Heaven, that stress on what others besides John Stuart Mill regarded as slave-virtues, that old belief—deadly half truth—that the life of the soul, the only thing that matters, is independent of earthly circumstances. How often have these things been sedative and not incentive to social passion! How inevitable the secular, the anti-Christian reaction in Europe, in Russia!

TO narrow the matter to the present time, the United States, and the area of our own Churches: two tendencies have the lead in our religion. There is the intense desire for personal purification and for the training of the inner life, and there is the longing for the mystical communion. This appears in a movement like Buchmanism. It looks askance on humanitarian or social ardor, scenting diversion from matters of deeper import and shallow evasion of the stern demands of holiness. The class struggle means nothing to it, and reform movements leave it cold. Some prominent leaders of mystical studies in England frankly take this view. On the other hand, there is the stress on "social Christianity." A "social gospel" disdainful of theology, rather scornful of introspective devotion, carrying everything before it so far as fluent speech is concerned, so that in some parishes one may go to Church for a year and hear excellent discourses on international peace, which is popular just now, on industrial justice which needs more courage to be discussed at all concretely, on civil liberties, on sex relations, on social ethics in every phase, but

rarely or never a word to help one's poor little old soul in its effort to enter into commerce with the Eternal.

Mystic and reformer, each distrusts the other. The mystic thinks the reformer evades the depths of life to deal with mere externals. The reformer turns from the mystic with more obvious point. Shall one talk the joys or disciplines of the interior life to burdened tenement house women, and "wage-slaves" in factories? He has too much sense of humor; moreover if he draws close to such people he may suspect that sometimes they are nearer than he to reality. As to himself, what does he care about his own spiritual well-being? Ardently absorbed in fighting conditions that outrage every instinct of sympathy not to say justice, he is not likely to pay much attention to his own progress on the Way of Purification. There is a good deal of excuse for the impatience and occasional contempt with which people possessed by noble social passion regard those who are possessed by interest in their own souls.

Yet in the mystic vibrates the obstinate conviction that the social reformer is on the less important track. Mrs. Browning hits the nail on the head when, in her very splendid, very old-fashioned, quite forgotten poem, she makes her heroine Aurora Leigh exclaim to the radical young man immersed in the daring social experiments of the nineteen-fifties,

> "Ah, your Fouriers failed,
> Because not poets enough to understand
> That life develops from within."

At long last, systems are feeble things compared with souls. From within, from within! As the psychological approach to social problems becomes increasingly stressed, the reformer recognizes this more and more. He knows that bath-tubs will not automatically produce brotherhood. No change in social conditions can ever be the whole story even if it meant the achievement at one fell swoop of perfect economic equality. Deep inward transformation must be the starting point, as it must also be the goal of social change. All this the reformer knows. But he does not see the way out.

The mystic can teach him. But he can only do so as he repudiates any trace of the ascetic self-centredness, once associated with his ideal, and escapes from egotism. His mysticism must become sacramental; it must recognize the Spirit moving everywhere through flesh and sense, and the responsibility of those born of the Spirit to see that the whole physical world, the whole social order, become the harmonious body through which the Love, the Lover, Uncreate and Eternal, forever seeking union with the souls of men, can find expression.

MYSTICISM and social passion are at long last helpless each without the other. Nor shall we have to defy history if we make this claim; we shall only have to select our facts. There has been plenty of arid mysticism in the world, plenty of thin humanitarian ardor. But quality not quantity, as one appraises life, is the criterion of value. And the most challenging souls, those who live closest to the heart of reality, have achieved the union. They have been social radicals and revolutionaries sustained by mystic faith. By this one does not mean the sentimental and optimistic pseudo-mysticism springing from generous hopefulness of temperament; still less the facile lower types of pantheism, but the attitude which relates itself to conviction and experience that the spirit of man is divine in origin, inbreathed and enabled by power from the Source of Life. Such has been the basis of the indomitable courage and achievement of a St. Teresa, a Mazzini, a Gandhi. Such the basis of the troubling lives of Francis of Assisi and his sons.

In Francis himself the two impulses blended. The devotion to poverty of the exquisite lad, the brilliant young tradesman of Assisi, sprang from no ascetic dread of nature's gifts, no primary desire for personal purity, but from pure social compunction. His cry that "man's poverty is a great shame to us" might be a note for all social endeavor. When he told the Bishop of Assisi, who was urging him to renounce his fantastic notions, that if he had property he should have to have arms to defend it, he analyzed the causes of war as deeply as any pacifist. But the vision of Love-in-Death, encircled with the wings of power and on La Verna sealing him for its own, marks the purest reach of mysticism the Middle Ages knew. As for his followers, their hatred of the institution of private property became a consuming fire, consigning them repeatedly to prison or to death. But their social radicalism was rooted in the deepest sense of surrender to the uttermost to the Divine Life within, as appears in the marvelous almost Neo-Platonic Lauds of their great poet, Jacopone da Todi. The amazing productivity of the friars, the achievement in art, medicine, philosophy, of men who had rejected every incentive supposed to insure progress, spring from such triumphant mystical vision as was described, so far as words may describe it, in St. Bonaventura's "Journey of the Soul to God."

The worst danger the reformer confronts today is the progressive mechanization of life and his resultant sense of helplessness. The worst danger of the mystic is as always a quest of spiritual privilege leading to aloofness from the common lot. May it not be that the precise situation in which we are caught, flings to each a special challenge which he can meet only with the help of the other?

Multiplication of comforts and conveniences seems almost to multiply curses, and the supplanting of human labor by machines appalls the mind. But the threat is a promise too. As mass production continues, there is going to be—so Bernard Shaw and Stuart Chase assure us—an almost incredible increase of leisure. What are we going to do with it? We feel its ominous approach already in the hideous growth of unemployment. This crass evil can be met by wise statesmanship. inspired by common sense and human sympathy; hours of labor can be lessened all around, production can be more equitably shared. But unless that question, "What shall we do with our leisure?" can be answered, the reformer's sense of helplessness will continue to dog him. We may hope, to be sure, that the psychological reaction to the new freedom will be a stimulus to the creation of beauty, to scientific research, to all those activities now cramped by the imperious necessity to concentrate effort on providing and improving the material basis of life. But one does not see the sum total of these activities suffice to make life worth living when the anodyne of enforced labor is removed.

Shall we not in this quandary revert to the ancient wisdom which found ultimate values in the culture of the life within? Our cheerful efficiencies have placed the contemplative virtues at a discount; and while so much energy was needed to secure a decent life for our fellows, humanitarian sympathy has had some ground for distrusting these virtues. Yet till modern times, the difficult activity of the Spirit has been recognized as the crown and flower of noble living; and as we envisage the future of civilization, we begin to see with deep relief that it may afford a greater opportunity for the life of the soul than many generations have known. The time is even now upon us when the well-charted path of purification, illumination, and union may be sought once more. It may be that we must seek again, as all the saints have done, to gaze into the eyes of Beatrice.

The mystic must keep that path open not only for himself but for others. He can no longer pursue it without a social aim. Even now it beckons him, and voices from the Beyond, as we said at the beginning, sound an imperious summons in many ears. But no decent man, if he be aware that his brothers are subject to the horrors of unemployment, can go off and devote his chief energies to cultivating the interior life. Nor if he is himself unemployed, can he be expected to attain the high serenity the spirit craves; no worried man is likely to be a mystic. It is not too much to say that the achievement of a fair degree of economic justice is a necessary preliminary to recovering contact with the spiritual world. It is because people intent on what used to be called "spirituality" have ignored this basic fact, that their power has so often remained inoperative and inert. They must go to school to their fellows working for the common good; they must learn a terror of special privilege, a rejection of all that isolates and divides. It was the Image of Christ that Dante saw reflected in the eyes of Beatrice and stamped upon the ultimate Circle of Light when the Beatific Vision was attained; the mystic must ever gaze on the Incarnate God, not on the Absolute alone. Therefore he must lend himself with impassioned eagerness to completing the great Incarnation; he must coöperate with the forces which, by removing material fetters from the common life, shall provide in civilization the freedom through which the Life Divine may play. Of cheap panaceas he has none to offer. Programs are not his concern. But he can offer to bewildered minds a criterion and a clue, teaching them to test each development in social mechanism by the opportunity it promises to further a sacramental harmony and to help the expression of the soul.

Using this clue, the prospect of mass production will lose its terrors. Resolve must be quickened in the public mind that the inevitable increase of leisure shall not spell unemployment or starvation but a new and more widely diffused freedom for high achievement. Nor is there time to be lost in preparing ourselves and others to use that freedom well. Immense the task before us! It can only be accomplished by the revival of the fading sense of the Luminous from which true proportious spring; but let this sense once brighten, and the necessary readiness for economic sacrifice might fill with high romantic zeal the nominally religious members of the possessing classes. It should not be impossible to infuse in the many timid people, who stand to lose in a worldly sense by economic change, such entire indifference to lower privileges, such distaste for holding them unshared, as hunger for celestial food imparts. We should all be filled with social passion if we realized the nature of that Other Country for which eternal nostalgia torments us whether we know it or not. And should the next fifty years see the mystical and the social passion fused in one, we might advance swiftly toward the building of the Heavenly City which is the capital of that country. For it is after all the "mental strife" which "builds Jerusalem in England's green and pleasant land."


## Notice

An index of the 1929 issues of THE WORLD TOMORROW has been prepared and will be sent to all libraries free of charge. Individual subscribers who wish copies may obtain them upon request.

# Clippings

## Wisdom

War is force to kill without truth to the bitter end of the foe. There is only one wisdom about war—to stop it, refuse to have anything to do with it, now!—*Editorial,* The Christian Register, *November 21, 1929.*

## The Age of Noise

Does noise endanger civilization? . . . Each new invention of modern engineering seems noisier than the last. On city streets people are already from one-third to one-half deafened by the average noise. No less an authority than Thomas A. Edison has predicted that sooner or later increasingly noisy cities will end by deafening all of their citizens permanently. In New York, Chicago, London, Berlin, Paris, Budapest, and dozens of other cities officials or commissions are seeking means to lessen noise. Three American scientific societies have noise committees at work. Prominent psychologists are trying to discover precisely what harmful things noise does to human minds or bodies.—*E. E. Free,* Popular Science Monthly, *January, 1930.*

## Motives Not Unmixed

America has stayed in Haiti for the mere protection of her money interest until constitutional government has been abolished, national autonomy is destroyed and the interest of that nation subordinated to the interest of American financiers. We have outstayed our welcome and caused others to cast suspicious glances in the direction of our motive. We have stayed until our sojourn is continued only at the point of Marine bayonets and the terrible price of the blood of the unarmed, trampled native, vainly protesting for liberty and emancipation. One wonders whether we stay simply because America's government is white and Haiti's government is black.—*Editorial,* Rising Sun (Hopkinsville, Ky.), *December 14, 1929.*

## Booby Prize For 1929

The Committee on Awards for the Phoebe Moron Foundation regrets the delay that has occurred in announcing the Booby Prizes for 1929. In view of the number of entrants, however, and the particularly high standards of folly and stupidity that were achieved by many of the candidates, the final choices were not easy ones. . . . The most useful invention of 1929 presented a knotty problem to the judges. They decided to divide the award between the inventor of the contraption for keeping paper cigarette packages from crushing, and the designer of longer skirts for women. The latter invention, while not involving any new mechanical or scientific principles, nevertheless seemed to the Committee to represent the modern application of imagination to technical problems, since this simple device, so far from doing away with labor, has restored and resuscitated the silk industry, the dry cleaners, the corset-makers and the accident-insurance writers. . . . The prizes in Applied Logic were divided among several people one of whom was Henry Ford for his combination of flivver production and factory rationalization with the interest in the one-horse shay, the schoolhouse that sheltered Little Mary, the Wayside Inn and the tunes that Grandmother used to sing.—*Lewis Mumford,* The New Republic, *January 8, 1930.*

## Greeting Cards

On Christmas Day we received from a "wet" friend "jubilatory greetings" in honor of the birthday of "the wine-maker of Cana." This is an interesting style of remembrance. It should be extended to the 22nd of February, and all Americans asked to celebrate the birthday of the slave-holder of Mt. Vernon!—*John Haynes Holmes,* in Unity, *Jan. 13, 1930.*

## Let Us Pray

Unless the unforseen happens we must not expect jobs and good times. We cannot create the markets that create the profits that create the jobs. About all that we can do as laborers is to tighten our belts and pray. That is, unless we workers become intelligent and organize and—but why chase that Will-o'-the-Wisp again? Let us tighten our belts and pray.—*William Edward Zeuch,* Commonwealth Release, *December 23, 1929.*

## Down With New York!

I was born and raised in New York, but hate the town. So does everyone else who has to live in it. We live here because we are fascinated by it in the way a coke-fiend is drawn to his poison. Or we have to make our living here. New York is a monstrosity born out of the capitalist system. It has no sound economic base for existence. . . . The city would inevitably shrink to man-size under a coöperative social order.—*Michael Gold,* New Masses, *January, 1930.*

## Was the Tiger Great?

Mr. Hoover has just characterized him as a "great" patriot. Can a "tiger" be a great patriot? Does it make for the instruction of public opinion to use the epithet "great" so indiscriminately? Is it well to inflate the moral currency and so to cheapen it? Mr. Hoover, speaking in the name of the American people, also declares that men of good-will the world over will "deeply regret" the passing of his figure from the political scene. There are not a few men of good-will in France and elsewhere who will believe that the spirit of Locarno is better than the spirit of Clemenceau.—*Felix Adler in* The Standard, *December, 1929.*

## Taxation Follies

It is extraordinary how the great American people let themselves be bamboozled on taxation. They don't even put up a respectable fight on taxation so plainly designed to strengthen special privilege that it is scarcely camouflaged. Does anyone imagine for an instant that a Congress really representing the interests of the masses would have passed by an overwhelming majority a bill to relieve the well-to-do and the rich by a 1% cut in the income tax, and this at a time when all the logic of the situation calls for the furthering of a more genuine prosperity by the use of taxes to establish a fund for social insurance, for more vigorous war against illiteracy and ignorance, for better roads and the like? To say that such a tax cut was necessary for the psychological reason that it increases business confidence is mostly bunk.—*Norman Thomas,* League for Industrial Democracy Bulletin, *December, 1929.*

# The Police—Law-Keepers or Law-Breakers?

DON M. CHASE

I

HOW do you regard a policeman? As the bulwark of order and the keeper of the peace? Or as an agent of arbitrary power who may violate the law as often as he upholds it, according to his inclination or the orders he gets from his superiors? If the latter attitude seems to you perverted and unjustifiable, you are of that more fortunate class which has not had much contact with certain activities of the police. But there is a large proportion of our population whose attitude toward the police is more nearly represented by the second alternative than by the first. They consequently have little respect for the law and its agents. What is behind this feeling that the police arbitrarily disregard the laws? To answer this question we should do well to observe the police in action during industrial disputes.

A case in point is that of the striking textile workers at Marion, North Carolina. The situation is too well known to require lengthy statement. A spontaneous strike was called by the night shift. Strikers remained at the factory gate to warn the day shift of the strike. A sheriff and his deputies, desiring to disperse the strikers, fired into the crowd. Six unarmed men who had offered no violence were killed—shot in the back.

The case of the Pennsylvania miner, Barkoski, has similar features. For trying to prevent a drunken policeman from beating a boy, Barkoski was himself beaten and arrested. Taken to headquarters, where he lay on the floor unable to stand, he was beaten with a poker and stamped upon by the representatives of law and order who felt like a "good workout." He died in a few hours from his injuries.

While this case was unusually atrocious, it might be paralleled by dozens of stories in which the police have arbitrarily used their power to terrorize citizens or to give illegal expression to their arrogance and hatred. Let me cite a few instances which have come under my personal observation in recent years.

SOME time ago the paper-box makers were on strike in New York City. The industry is made up of small shops, only partially organized, and the prospects for a successful strike were not good. The pickets were being arrested, the strikers could not get publicity, their funds were low, and the outlook dark. An enterprising young woman organizer, realizing that anything unusual in the picket line would get publicity and benefit the strikers, passed the information to some students that on a certain day mass picketing would be attempted. The students were interested, and went to see how a strike is conducted.

Mass picketing does not seem to have an exact legal status in New York City. If the police choose to permit it, it is called picketing and is legal. If they choose to break it up, it is called by the police a parade. And a parade requires a permit, which cannot be had for picketing. In other words, the situation is in the hands of the police.

On this occasion the picket line proceeded quietly through the paper-box district. Finally the police decided to break up the demonstration. The first evidence of this intent was seen when a mounted patrolman came galloping down the sidewalk with no warning save the clatter of his horse's hoofs. Women and children ran into the street to avoid being run down. The line was being effectually dispersed. The pickets attempted to form again in the next block, but patrolmen were here and there, shoving people and telling them to move on. The mounted policeman rode up and down on the sidewalk, trying to keep any line from forming. One picket was seriously injured by the horse, and an ambulance had to be summoned.

One of the students was so incensed by the actions of the mounted officer that he called out to him, "Who do you think you are—Mussolini?" At that, the policeman rode toward his challenger. The latter, to avoid being run down, stepped onto the running-board of an automobile. Riding alongside, the officer struck him across the face with his hand, knocking him to the ground.

Later, as one of the students was walking away with a companion, a policeman came up and said to him, "If you don't get out of here I'll beat your——— head in."

Another student relates her experiences and feelings thus: "There on the sidewalk, charging us from the rear without warning, was a mounted policeman. I was filled with an unreasoning rage born of fear. I got out of the way perforce, and the horse passed close beside me, leaving me trembling with fright and anger. If I had been sitting in my own living-room and a bull had suddenly broken in and charged me, I could not have been more terrified.

"The policeman went on to the corner, and so did I. As he circled about, yelling orders to us in bad English, I got a good look at his face. It was that of a hardened bully. I noticed that a small group had gathered with me to look at him. He noticed it too, and charged

toward us again. This time I was not taken by surprise. I planted myself firmly, set my teeth, and waited to see if he would ride over me. I wouldn't have moved for worlds. In absolute defiance I withstood him. He turned his horse, and his stirrup merely grazed my coat as he brushed past me.

"Those two encounters revolutionized my feelings toward all policemen. Formerly I regarded them as 'officers of the law,' as impersonal assistants in time of need. Now they have all become individuals. I scan the face of each one I see. If it is young and good-natured, I think with some surprise, 'There *are* some good ones; I wonder how long it will take him to get brutalized.' If it is hard and coarse, I think, 'What softer aspects are hidden under that mask? Could anything bring them out?' And as I look, I am at once attracted and repulsed. So far as my emotions are concerned, the police system is to me a breeder of brutality and a chance for men to express their primitive cruelty without danger of punishment."

The upshot of this affair in my mind, for I was one of the onlookers, was to realize the baffled, helpless feeling of working people who encounter the activities of the police, seemingly on behalf of the employers. When they try to improve their conditions by the legal methods of striking and picketing, the police are there to thwart them. When they take a case of brutality into court, the judge will not seriously consider it. When a striker is arrested he must put up a bond, and this costs his organization money. When he is tried he may be fined, even though he has done nothing but what is legal. And this, too, drains away the strike funds. It looks to the striker as though there is a conspiracy between the employers on one hand and the police and the courts on the other to break the strike by intimidating strikers and draining their scanty funds.

MORE recently another case has arisen which illustrates the use of the police and the courts to weaken strikes. During a communist strike in the dressmaking industry in New York, hundreds of strikers were arrested. A friend of the writer, seeing several score being bundled into patrol wagons, followed them to the police station. There he asked a communicative policeman what would probably be done with the prisoners. "Oh," said he, "it all depends on the judge. If he's feeling good he may let 'em off. But if he isn't, he will fine 'em five or ten dollars apiece. That's what he ought to do. Then when all their money has been used up paying fines, they'll go back to work."

Confronted with conditions which may be interpreted as a conspiracy between the law and the employers, is it any wonder that strikers occasionally resort to violence! It seems to the worker that he has no rights which the police are bound to respect.

Lest this seem an extravagant statement, let us go on to still other cases. A year ago the Emergency Committee on American Policy in Nicaragua decided to hold a parade on Fifth Avenue. A permit from the Police Department was secured. The parade, made up largely of students, marched down the Avenue, bearing placards with such legends as "Stop the War in Nicaragua." After the parade had proceeded for half an hour or more, a police sergeant and a number of policemen appeared and ordered the marchers to disband. The sergeant was informed that a permit had been obtained. The fact that the parade was legal was of no importance to the police, however, for they destroyed the placards and dispersed the paraders.

About the same time the writer was walking up Madison Avenue, carrying a placard on his shoulder. He said nothing, did nothing to cause a disturbance, nor was there any. The case, in its outward aspects, was no different from that of a "sandwich man" carrying an advertising placard, nor from that of a sign painter delivering a sign he had painted. There was nothing about the affair which could be construed as an offense against public order or good taste. Nevertheless, two policemen interfered and demanded that the sign be lowered from my shoulder. It must not be carried in such a way as to be seen by the passing throng. Not law, but arbitrary police power!

Another student, during the dressmakers' strike, going into the strike area to observe, found himself surrounded by a half dozen policemen almost as soon as he stopped moving. He had done and said nothing to indicate that he was any different from the thousands of people who daily pass that spot on business. He was roughly ordered to keep moving. He had not yet learned that police power is autocratic and supreme. He still had a notion that a law abiding citizen had rights which the police must observe. Therefore he hesitated. They demanded to know who he was. Again he demurred. What business was it of theirs, so long as he was doing nothing to disturb the peace? He said something about his rights. A policeman jabbed him in the ribs with his stick saying, "We'll show you about your rights. Move on!" He moved, but he had learned a new attitude toward the police.

For most of us the police and the courts are symbols of law and order; they are agencies which the intelligence of man has devised to protect the rights of the people from undue encroachment by selfish and unprincipled men. These agencies are given our respect and support. The vast majority of people deplore disrespect for laws and for the duly constituted agencies of law. However, the consideration of situations such as have been described clearly indicate why a section of our population cannot regard the police and the courts as anything but instruments of terror and oppression. The police violate laws and disregard ele-

mentary rights of citizens. Why then, these men ask, should they be obliged to respect either the police or the laws they choose to enforce?

II

ANOTHER question persistently challenging one who believes in justice is this: Can those who desire to effect social progress in this country hope to do so by orderly and peaceful means? Can a weak group hope to secure redress of grievances while power lies in the hands of a hostile and tyrannical group? Can the processes of democracy be utilized by a minority?

The evidence from such cases as I have cited is discouraging. If one had hundreds of pages at one's disposal, it would be possible to paint a picture very gloomy indeed of how arbitrary power has been exercised by the police and the courts all over this land—in Centralia, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Pittsburgh, New York, Boston, Colorado, New Bedford, Marion, and where not? The evidence is discouraging, to say the least.

We remember Sacco and Vanzetti, those "anarchistic bastards," to use Judge Thayer's phrase. It is pretty generally conceded that in the trial of those unfortunate men, their case was prejudiced because they were anarchists. Because they believed that governments could not be trusted, but were instruments of oppression and injustice, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts took vengeance on them by proving their contention correct. While the state rid itself of anarchists through the legal device of calling them murderers, it created numerous other anarchists by the simple means of destroying confidence in the established agencies of government.

Had that celebrated case gone unnoticed outside of Massachusetts, the damage might not have been so great. But it was widely known; everywhere people who care about justice and truth were concerned about it. They held meetings of protest against Massachusetts tyranny. And straightway the agencies of justice and order in other parts of the country brought down their heavy hand upon that protest, thereby further undermining the confidence reposed in the state by law-abiding citizens.

IF this sounds strange, consider this case in Pennsylvania and see anarchists being made wholesale: On August 22, 1927, striking miners with their wives and children—in all about 1,500 people—held a picnic in a grove near Cheswick. That being the day on which Sacco and Vanzetti were executed, the occasion was utilized to make a speech about the case. But the chairman had only begun to talk when the state police ordered him to stop. Members of the crowd protested, saying the police had no right to stop the meeting. After some controversy, mounted police, who had surrounded the crowd, began throwing tear-gas bombs and beating such of the unfortunate men, women, and children as could not escape. The victims ran in every direction, pursued by the police. More than two hundred were injured, some very seriously. Several women were beaten severely. Twenty-one miners were arrested and held under heavy bail, despite clear evidence of their innocence.

Here was a peaceful meeting, lawful and orderly. But its participants were striking miners, and they were discussing a forbidden subject; consequently the representatives of law and order, in defiance of all that the state is supposed to stand for, descended upon that meeting, not only unlawfully dispersing it, but savagely attacking and injuring the people without regard to sex, age, or condition. And to cap the injustice of it all, twenty-one men were deprived of their liberty for nothing else than having attended the meeting. Could anything be better calculated to convince those 1,500 people that the anarchists are right? Could any more efficient method be devised for convincing citizens that orderly social change is impossible and that the instruments of the law are inevitably used against the helpless minority?

Another instructive case is that of the National Miners Union. With the failure of the great coal strike, 1927-1928, there developed a movement to organize a new miners' union with more radical leadership. This purpose was entirely above-board and thoroughly legal. The men had as much right to organize and to hold orderly meetings as have the Daughters of the American Revolution. But note what happened when they met in convention: Hostile members of the United Mine Workers came to the convention, and trouble ensued. Police, called to quell the disturbance, ordered the convention to adjourn, and arrested scores of the delegates. The latter were then ordered to leave town, after their hotel rooms had been raided. In all, about 130 arrests were made and fines ranging from five to twenty-five dollars were imposed. Fortunately a committee of lawyers and preachers interested themselves in the affair, and after the fact was made public that there had been no legal basis for the police action, the cases were dropped and fines were immediately remitted.

I have given a gloomy view of the situation. Yet there are many people, communists, anarchists and others, whose skepticism of democratic processes is increased every day by numerous incidents such as have been described. If orderly social change is to be possible in America, patriotic citizens must uphold democracy and the Constitution by curbing the arbitrary use of police power. Those who are interested in justice and orderly progress in our country must not ignore this challenge.

# Findings

*"Next to the originator of a good sentence is the first quoter of it."—Emerson.*

## Ah, Ha! We've Thought So Too

Truly, the world is on the verge of revolutionary discoveries that philosophers did not dream of. But then, philosophers, unlike poets, are behind their times, most of the time.—*Dr. Joseph Tenenbaum,* The Riddle of Sex, *p. 353.*

## Tell Not the Daughters

Some of the noblest characters in America were active Whigs, but there are many contrasts between Whig and Tory which give pause to one who wishes to think that the choicest of American spirits went with the Revolutionary party.—The War of Independence, *by Claude H. Van Tyne, p. 33.*

## To the Scrap Heap

The outlawry of war is not a new idea. Ever since the Middle Ages attempts have been made to outlaw this bandit and common enemy. But these attempts have been to no purpose. War is not outlawed by treaty or by legislation, but by a change of heart, the growth of tolerance and the scrapping of the instruments by which war is waged.—*Kanhaya Lal Gauba,* Uncle Sham, *p. 230.*

## A Guatemalan on War

In contrast to the idea of the penguin patriots of the Island of Alca, in the memorable book by Anatole France, the glories of war prove too costly for a people; thousands and thousands of tombs dotting a country, through whose withered fields and wasted cities wanders an army of sick and maimed . . . and this without counting in the spirit of hate, the primitive and enduring hate of revenge.—*Carlos Wyld Ospina,* El Autocrata, *p. 84.*

## In 1900!

Three things are required to assure the safety of the British Empire. They are: 1. A strong Navy, *at least* equal in strength to the combined forces of any *two* Powers. . . . 2. A highly-trained, lay-service Army for garrison and "police" duties in India. . . . 3. An immense Reserve of men—a *Pan-Britannic Militia*—consisting of *all* able-bodied white men throughout the Empire.—*George F. Shee,* The Briton's First Duty, *pp. 174, 175.*

## Christianizing Ye Red Man

It is probable that religious services were held from time to time at all the coast settlements. . . . In a certain sermon (at Winnesimmet, now Chelsea, Mass.) Mr. Bright pictures vividly the Christian life until his eye fell upon an Indian who wore a very fine beaver coat. Bright at once directed his discourse to covetousness and the sin of trading for beaver skins on the Lord's day. He made a profound impression; but as soon as his audience, still under the spell of his sermon, had dispersed, he drew the Indian into a secluded place and purchased the beaver coat.—The Real Founders of New England, 1602-1628, *by Charles Knowles Bolton, p. 95.*

## Eliminating Crime

Our whole social system, based upon inequality and privilege, is largely responsible for the commonest crimes, those against property. Only as that social system is revolutionized will it be possible to strike deep at the major causes of crime.—*Roger Baldwin,* Pacifism in the Modern World, *p. 84.*

## A Frenchman on American Education

Utilitarianism in education is as disastrous to culture as so-called easy methods are to scholarship. The preference for scientific branches which can be turned to immediate account is, of course, a manifestation of the utilitarian spirit. So is the purely practical teaching of modern languages prevalent in most schools. So is the absence of all philosophical teaching in the high school.—*Ernest Dimnet,* The Art of Thinking, *p. 66.*

## Religious Freedom in Turkey

For the first time in history an Asiatic Muslem nation, the traditional defender of the faith, has dared to set out upon the perilous but commendable path of religious freedom. Mustapha Kemal has the coöperation of the mass of the people in an amazing way, although he must take precautions against both the over-radical young generation and the embittered conservative old one. . . . In eight years Kemal has put Turkey on the way to be as free from religious restraint as the United States.—*Upton Close,* Eminent Asians, *p. 331.*

## Ambassador of Good Imperialism

Even Sir Edward Grey jocularly ran me across our history with questions like this:

"Suppose you have to intervene (in Mexico), what then?"

"Make 'em vote and live by their decisions."

"But suppose they will not so live?"

"We'll go in again and make 'em vote again."

"And keep this up two hundred years?" asked he.

"Yes," said I, "the United States will be here two hundred years and it can continue to shoot men for that little space till they learn to vote and to rule themselves."—*Burton J. Hendrick,* The Life and Letters of Walter H. Page, *Vol. I, p. 188.*

## Valiant Miles Standish

Standish was sent by Bradford with eight men and an Indian guide to investigate the situation at Wessagusset. He found the men scattered and unarmed, ready to become an easy prey. While he discussed with them the problem of food supply and defense, menacing messages and threats came from two sachems, Pecksuot and Wituwaumet. Standish with three soldiers got the chiefs into a room with two other Indians. The door was shut and he stabbed Pecksuot. The other Indians thus trapped fought silently and courageously until Wituwaumet also was killed.—*Charles Knowles Bolton,* The Real Founders of New England, 1602-1628 *p. 47.*

# Religious Training for Children of Liberals

ELSA P. KIMBALL

MANY persons emancipated after much mental suffering and confusion from religious dogmatism, based upon divine revelation and cosmogonies oblivious to the laws of cause and effect, vow that their children shall not be burdened with any religion whatsoever. But when the children actually come, when they pass from infancy to childhood, the problem is not so easily dismissed. The question too often is solved in one of the two following ways: first, by drifting into the old worn path of sending the children to the family church and Sunday school—letting them grapple as they may when the time comes with the inconsistencies between a pacifistic, Oriental religion promulgated nearly two thousand years ago and the capitalistic, aggressive, material, success-at-any-price philosophy of the modern Occident; or, equally as easy for the parents, the child is often given no regular religious training at all.

The first method can have but two results. On the one hand, the child may be cowed into the system, the God-fearing system, made unquestioning and submissive. The more sincere and devout he is, the more of a dogmatist he will probably become. Yesterday, he was a heresy hunter and a witch-burner; today, he goes gunning for science and obscenity. He will be a stumbling-block, and all others like him, to those who attempt to widen man's knowledge of the physical and mental world.

On the other hand, another type of child may perceive that people preach one thing and practice another, and before long he too will be able to lead a double life, as it were. In times of peace, for instance, he will be able to accept the peaceful Jesus as life ideal. In times of war he will be able, with no twinge of the conscience, to fight an aggressive, imperialistic war under the guise of true patriotism and the slogan of a soldier of the Lord. In the last Christian world war, God was on all sides at the same time. This inconsistency, strangely enough, did not trouble the Christian generations who had become used to insincerity and illogical duplicity, the generations who had had their mental and moral life befuddled from the very beginning of their education.

But what of the liberal and the agnostic? Both represent groups not quite willing to run with the herd. They see even from a cursory review of the history of thought that all peoples everywhere have worshipped, have experienced religion, and have practiced it. In some cases religious systems have centered about fear, fear of arousing divine wrath, fear of the unknown. Propitiation of the gods has been necessary. In other systems, love and gratitude have played a great part. Man's need for dependence upon something beyond his own feeble powers while in constant danger from the terror and uncertainty of the unknown is easily understood. The unknowable will always remain with man; yet more and more fear has receded into the background as knowledge has grown. Nevertheless, it is quite possible that real religion has increased. As fear gives way to knowledge, the mental powers have more scope for reverence, for wonder, for ecstasy.

The innumerable, inadequate definitions of religion do not prove its non-existence but merely show the limitations of man's power of expression. No one formulation satisfies more than a few. Yet everyone recognizes a religious person the moment he comes in contact with him. The religious person is dedicated to something either consciously or unconsciously. He is dedicated with all his heart. His thoughts revolve about some ideal, something he hopes to bring nearer, make more realizable. Religion is the emotional dedication of one's intellectual powers to an ideal. It must seem altogether worthwhile, worthwhile to give and to expend one's energies for. Such was the religion of Socrates, of Jesus, of St. Francis. Such was the religion of Mohammed and Gautama, the Buddha. Moreover it was the religion of Galileo, of Jean d'Arc, of Pestalozzi, and of Darwin. Such a religion claimed Elizabeth, Florence Nightingale, and Susan B. Anthony. Yesterday it claimed Dr. Sun Yat Sen and Lenin; today it claims Gandhi and Mme. Curie. It is even conceivable that it has sometimes claimed those who have been called great criminals and leaders of the underworld. For as there are many ideals, so there are many religions. Each religion seems worthwhile to its true followers. It is the altogether lovely—the altogether necessary. Yet to other peoples and to other times many religions may appear bad or actually evil.

IN America, the child of today and the citizen of tomorrow must live and adjust himself to a population which is hastening on to number many millions of people. With the rapid means of communication and travel at hand, he will have more frequent and wider contacts with those outside his own family or community group. He will have to deal and to live with Anglo-Puritans, with evangelical Negroes, with Roman and Greek Catholics; perhaps with Hindoos,

Shintoists, Buddhists and even with atheists. What, then, will best prepare him for intelligent adjustment to this mixed society, to these diverse religious and racial groups? He may become a preacher, a statesman, a foreign diplomat, an editor, a traveling salesman, or a farmer. Can thoughtful parents deem it wise to omit all religious instruction? If religious training means memorizing the catechism, mulling over church history as narrowly conceived, learning morals and right conduct by precept, most assuredly he would be far better off if he never had any religious education.

Yet the religious beliefs of the ages belong to the history of thought. They are represented in the music, folklore, literature, and the plastic arts of mankind. Is it possible for boys and girls of to-day to become well educated and adjusted to a varied society if they do not know something of the chief religions of the world, associated as these are with beliefs, philosophies, policies and daily living? How, without a wide knowledge of religious thought, can they understand appreciatively the significance of Pallas Athene, the Delphian Oracle, Dante, Confucius; of the Volsunga Saga, of Milton, or of Cotton Mather? But will they learn morals, good Christian morals, for life in the twentieth century, some will hasten to ask, from the mere knowledge of comparative folk traditions and religious? Probably not, for morality is learned through habit and experience.

The child of the liberal will learn to be truthful by experiencing the scorn and discomfort that comes from being untruthful. If he perceives that his parents lie, most likely he will lie. If the parents have consideration for each other and for him and daily exhibit patience, sympathy, honesty and justice, he will be quick to imitate them. If his parents preach "prohibition" and obedience to the laws in public and in private make or drink bootleg liquor, he will likewise see no harm in such duplicity. Parents who wish to teach respect and obedience for law and morals must practice these virtues themselves. Their children do not see them evade the speed laws, the gunning laws, the fishing laws. They do not use false weights and measure; they do not boast in private of "sharp practices." Honesty, chastity, and decency are not learned by platitudes, Sunday-school lessons, and the catechism; they are learned by example and experience. Within reason, children should be made to suffer or enjoy the consequences of their acts. They must be led to see the inevitable relation between cause and effect. At all times parents must act on the same principles they wish their children to follow.

SOCIOLOGICALLY speaking, to have good morals is to follow the accepted ways of the group. Thus it is that morality and religion are not the same. The religious person, dedicated to his ideal, may ofte break through the accepted ways of his group an thus become, from their standpoint, immoral. H may seem to threaten the moral system and genera safety to such an extent that they ostracise him, pres the cup of hemlock to his lips, or crucify him. Prog ress can only come by breaking "the cake of custom as Walter Bagehot has said. The cake broken, th ways or morals of the group are changed and anothe cake or system has to be formulated.

As to the specific problem at hand, we see that i is no small job to be an intelligent, careful parent and that liberals and agnostics must bestir themselve to give adequate answers to their children's question about God and the universe, whence we came an whither we go. When the child asks who God i parents ought to be courageous and honest enough t say they do not know; but they may say what the themselves think Him to be, or relate what man others have thought Him to be. For example, som racial groups have thought Him a spirit, an influenc or an all-father. Here is a good chance to begi stories, stripped of all preaching, of the Jehovah o the Jews, the Allah of the Mohammedans, the Zeu of the Greeks, the Jupiter of the Romans, the Odi of the Germanic peoples, the Great Spirit of th Indians. He has been thought of as a great king, mighty warrior, a gentle shepherd. He has dwelt i heaven, a place of shining gold and precious stone in pastures green, in the happy hunting-ground, in th great warrior hall of Valhalla, or even in the heart of man. There is no good reason for and man against confining folklore and religious interpretation to the Hebrew and Christian peoples alone.

The parent as well as the child will find much c interest in early comparative accounts of peoples wh have tried to solve the problems of the universe. Th explanations of the creation alone is a rich field When the child begins to inquire, thus revealing hi spontaneous interest, he should be told in simple, vivi language not only the usual Hebrew account, but tha of the Babylonian and Egyptian and others of th Orient. The Greek Homer's "River Ocean," whic he thought to be the source of all things, and Hesiod Chaos should have a place. The American peopl are to a great extent of Germanic origin. Yet ho few children are given even a taste of Northern foll lore! The Norse Ginungagap, which was the bo tomless deep, and Niflheim, the world of Mist Muspelheim, the world of light, and the mighty as tree, Yggdrasil, which supported the whole world— these accounts should be related. Myths and folklor of all peoples which are, in most cases, the basis c their chief religions and often of their science an philosophy, should be made available to the child i his early years, not as facts or sources of authorit

but as stories. Sheer pleasure and enjoyment should be the immediate aim. The Bible stories, partly mythical, partly historical, should be told to be sure, but no more authority should be attached to them than to the others.

THE old-fashioned plan of having the Scriptures read after or before each meal might be re-adapted to modern needs. After the children are old enough to appear at this daily family gathering, the grown-ups might read aloud short passages from the New Testament, particularly the events connected with the life of Jesus, as well as the poetical and inspirational parts of the Old Testament such as the Psalms and Ecclesiastes. "The Meditations of Marcus Aurelius" and "The Little Flowers of St. Francis" might be given a place; and any number of more modern writings, particularly poems should be included. That they are not always within range of the child's vocabulary does not matter. Beauty of sound and rhythm is usually a pleasure in itself. Then too, familiarity with other vocabularies and the best thought of man should begin early. A few simple historical or literary comments might follow in the general conversation, particularly when the children have attained school age. These readings, however, must not be long; neither must they be preachments. No definite moral aim should be stressed other than what the selection naturally presents. These intimate daily periods, if carried out in the right way, may not only be of inestimable cultural and religious inspiration to the child, but they will also serve as a means of strengthening family ties. In some cases this dinner hour may be the one part of the day in which the family members really come to know each other and to exchange ideas on matters other than the mundane.

When the child is able to read, suitable books and pictures in the field of folklore and legend should be given him. Thus he will learn further at first hand about old acquaintances formerly met in the story-hours shared with his parents. His music and art lessons will mean more to him. When he grows to youth, he will not be more ignorant than the child who has had the old-time religious training based on the Hebrew Scriptures and commentaries of the fathers. Rather, his mind will find much more of interest in the required classical languages of the schools, in his Greek history, his English and American literature. Through his knowledge of the Germanic myths and gods, he will not find the Wagnerian operas too "highbrow" for enjoyment.

THE so-called religious impulse, we are told, appears at adolescence. Important and as full of possibilities as it may be, this impulse is nothing more than the child's first awakening on attaining mental maturity, his becoming conditioned to a certain all-absorbing object, aim or ideal. It may be to an art, a trade, an education, a science, the ministry, or to a personal love. The individual sees the world open up before him. For the first time he realizes the majesty of life and the vastness of the universe, the great mysteries, the achievements of the past and the possibilities of the future. Unspoiled by disillusionment and filled with first enthusiasm, he is now likely to dedicate himself to what seems of most value—to a great quest. If his imagination and mind have not been nourished from the beginning by rich possibilities, the relativity of values and variations of many kinds, but instead by a narrow sect, absolute values and limited mental experiences, he may as a youth on making his first ventures into the world suffer severe mal-adjustments. He must be bulwarked against the too severe effects of first mistakes. Otherwise, as a result of the first shock or disillusionment he may lose all faith and regard life as "the bunk."

All these plans may be very well, some liberals will say, but they add that it is the problem of the church, of church support, of church attendance and so on which bothers them.

Unfortunately it is true that many persons who are not religious attend church out of habit or for business reasons. In some localities it is more respectable to go to church than to stay away. There may be social values if nothing more. Is it impertinent to ask what *they* do to the churches? Some religious persons, on the other hand, find churches which attempt to keep step with knowledge, which are not afraid to consider the implications of modern science. In them they experience a re-evaluation of themselves and of life's problems. Other sincerely religious persons can no longer derive any inspiration in churches, although many of them will admit that the church, if it were alive to its opportunity, might still have something to offer in this realm of the Spiritual.

No child should be forced to go to church; yet he is defrauded if he is kept from it. But sending children to church where one himself finds nothing worthwhile is unfair. The reason many children dislike to go to church is because father and mother dislike it. If church and Sunday school are such good things, they ask themselves, why do father and mother prefer to listen to the radio or to read the Sunday papers or go for a ride in the family car? Children very quickly see through hypocrisy. They sense truth.

There probably is little to be said in favor of most Sunday schools, for their teachings do not square with the life of reality, with spiritual insight or with intellectual integrity. Yet a group of children may get much joy from singing together, much of permanent value from listening to the stories and Bible readings if the selections are well chosen. Such experiences

make for coöperation and friendship. The social as well as the spiritual value is not to be ignored.

If parents will take pains to find the right Sunday school and church, regardless of their past affiliations, one to which they can honestly offer their intellectual, sympathetic and financial support, they should go themselves and take the children with them. Even young Quaker children have been observed to attend services with their parents with enthusiasm. Boys and girls do not need to be urged to do what their parents do.

Furthermore, churches of other denominations than the one chosen should occasionally be visited. All are earnestly seeking the same quest by a different path. In most of our cities and towns, a Jewish, a Catholic or a Quaker service will be within reach also. What are these people all seeking—these so-called "hard-shelled" Baptists, the Seventh Day Adventists, the Salvation Army, the "Holy Rollers," the revivalists? The discerning person knows. It is the Ideal, the more-than-self, the quest for something worth living for.

The church, a man-made institution, with all the defects of man, representative at the same time of his spiritual aspiration and his bigotry, his fear born of ignorance, may still be improved if mankind deems it worth whle. It may still be a place to inspire personal re-evaluation and the dedication to an ideal. And if it cannot continue to meet the religious needs of man, it will pass away.

A well-rounded education and training through which the child may find his religion, a religion that fits for life as it must be lived here and now, a religion capable of commanding his emotional and intellectual allegiance—this is what intelligently loving parents must provide. If the church cannot, then parents must, for nothing is more true even today than that "man doth not live by bread alone."

## Resurrection and Ascension

HE built a kingdom with his heart and brain,
He knew hosannas and the palms, till one
Played Judas for a paltry little gain,
And in that hour his kingdom was undone.
His spirit entering Gethsemane,
Enduring bitter, bitter hours alone,
At last went staggering to Calvary,
From thence to hell,—and found a bed of stone.

But when the lilies flamed he breathed again,
A man of scars, yet luminous and strange
With ecstasy unknown to other men,—
An ecstasy no Judas kiss may change.
The hosts who fled now worship from afar:
They kneel before the beauty of a star.

EARL D. TODD

## Labor Around the World

According to recent figures published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the members of workers' organizations in 62 countries on January 1, 1928, were 46,187,060 as compared with 36,062,711 in 1925, an increase in three years of approximately 28%. The greatest increase in union members was found in China. Following are the figures for the various countries:

| | 1925. | 1928. |
|---|---|---|
| Argentina | 120,000 | 164,874 |
| Australia | 729,155 | 911,652 |
| Austria | 1,044,068 | 963,550 |
| Belgium | 726,126 | 762,886 |
| Bolivia | ——— | 5,000 |
| Brazil | 104,000 | 22,562 |
| British Guinea | ——— | 1,073 |
| Bulgaria | 49,803 | 2,485 |
| Canada | 201,981 | 209,282 |
| Ceylon | ——— | 40,000 |
| Chile | 162,000 | 204,000 |
| China | 300,000 | 2,800,000 |
| Colombia | ——— | 11,400 |
| Corea | ——— | 123,000 |
| Cuba | 100,000 | 250,000 |
| Czechoslovakia | 1,669,456 | 1,696,897 |
| Denmark | 306,158 | 309,885 |
| Dutch East Indies | 60,000 | 24,021 |
| Egypt | 12,000 | 60,000 |
| Estonia | 30,000 | 14,331 |
| Finland | 47,312 | 75,846 |
| France | 1,068,046 | 1,218,250 |
| Germany | 6,900,000 | 8,217,923 |
| Great Britain | 5,531,000 | 4,908,000 |
| Greece | 56,680 | 98,470 |
| Guatemala | ——— | 3,000 |
| Holland | 517,914 | 407,665 |
| Honduras | ——— | 6,000 |
| Hungary | 267,885 | 185,337 |
| Iceland | 4,000 | 4,540 |
| India | 195,800 | 300,000 |
| Ireland | 148,501 | 111,921 |
| Italy | 2,234,520 | 2,768,730 |
| Japan | 230,000 | 316,906 |
| Latvia | 38,867 | 34,032 |
| Lithuania | 28,250 | 18,486 |
| Luxemburg | 14,087 | 15,479 |
| Memel Territory | 3,894 | 1,024 |
| Mexico | 838,000 | 2,119,347 |
| Mongolia | ——— | 5,000 |
| New Zealand | 96,821 | 80,000 |
| Nicaragua | ——— | 6,000 |
| Norway | 94,567 | 104,152 |
| Palestine | 14,835 | 21,873 |
| Panama | ——— | 3,000 |
| Paraguay | ——— | 8,000 |
| Peru | 25,000 | 25,000 |
| Philippines | ——— | 67,000 |
| Poland | 539,089 | 577,581 |
| Porto Rico | ——— | 18,000 |
| Portugal | 36,000 | 40,000 |
| Rumania | 46,863 | 46,631 |
| Russia | 6,604,684 | 10,248,000 |
| Salvador | ——— | 10,000 |
| South Africa | 27,670 | 82,660 |
| South West Africa | ——— | 600 |
| Spain | 453,578 | 262,000 |
| Sweden | 451,650 | 529,974 |
| Switzerland | 261,713 | 254,992 |
| Uruguay | ——— | 28,484 |
| United States | 3,606,738 | 4,241,542 |
| Yugoslavia | 64,000 | 57,717 |
| Total | 36,062,711 | *46,187,060 |

*As given in report; items add to 46,106,060.

# The Book End

*The World Tomorrow reviews only books which it believes, after critical evaluation, to be helpful and interesting. On rare occasions it includes unfavorable comment on a popular volume which seems sufficiently misleading to render adverse criticism imperative.*

## India Before the Bar

*AFTER Mother India* is appropriately named, for it has taken Miss Mayo as a model and an authority. On the jacket are printed the qualifications of the redoubtable Mr. Harry Field, who has been "a commissioned officer in the British Army, on the staff of the American Radiator Company, and later, as assistant secretary to the Houston Publishing Company, *became identified with the publishing world.*" (Italics mine.) Those who are curious to know how he became identified with the literary world are asked to consult the files of *The Atlantic Monthly* and *Current History*. To crown these achievements, it is stated that *"he spent ten days with Miss Mayo at work in India, thus becoming interested in Mother India."* I take pleasure in italicising this statement too. Despite the remarkable biography, and despite a bibliography attached to the volume, the book is just a bolstering up of the Mayo mission. As both this bolstering and the original magnum opus are dissected by J. T. Sunderland, we might examine Mr. Sunderland's *India in Bondage*.

This author's interest in India dates back three decades, and his knowledge of the country has been gained by travelling through it in a more earnest spirit than is customary, by contact with Indians, and through extensive study. The present book has therefore resulted from these three sources.

It is replete with facts and figures which demolish the contentions and fictions of Miss Mayo and that of her ardent supporter, Mr. Field. But it is overlaid with many obvious defects, almost every one of them the result of a good intention. This pervading defect betrays itself in the first sentence wherein the author says: "This book is not an accident; it is a necessity. It exists because a great, historic nation, struggling for freedom, demands a voice. The book offers no apology for essaying to be that voice." If one did not know that the author was an elderly man with a sincere purpose, one would class this statement as being equally presumptuous with Miss Mayo's campaign on behalf of the poor child wives of India. It is not for nothing that St. George is an ideal of the West. The Occidental must needs arrogate to himself the other fellow's responsibility. It was to this characteristic that Tagore referred when he said, "The reason which made Alexander express his desire to find other worlds to conquer when his conquest in this world was completed, makes these enormously vital people desire, when they have some respite in their sublime mission of fighting against objects that are noxious, to go out of their way to spread their coat-tails in other peoples' thoroughfares and to claim indemnity when these are trodden upon."

Of course, it is not desire for any glory, but just his kindly heart which fain would remove injustice that betrays Mr. Sunderland into such a statement. This enthusiasm, this yearning to present the enormity of the injustice, reveals an agitation within that is natural only to very young idealists, or to very elderly missionaries. It leads Mr. Sunderland into painting too utopian a picture of India, in its pre-British days, and in the future to come. Enthusiasm has got the better of him in more than one instance. For example, on page 16 he states: "The source of her [India's] wealth was largely her splendid manufactures. Her cotton goods, silk goods, shawls, muslins of Dacca, brocades of Ahmedabad, rugs, pottery of Scind, jewelry metal work and lapidary work were famed not only all over Asia, but in all the leading markets of North Africa and Europe." Renowned as were the crafts of India in her palmy days, it was not her commerce but her natural wealth and the ideal condition of her agriculture that ensured her prosperity.

Many of Mr. Sunderland's arguments, too, have little except good intention to commend them. On page 33 he says: "Except for Britain's Indian career, the United States would never have gone away to the coast of distant Asia and seized the Philippines." Perhaps the U. S. A. will be thankful for this compliment! Again, on page 133: "And it should not for a moment be forgotten that on the part of the British these wars were pure aggression-fought to gain forcible possession of a country to which they had no right." So obvious. No sane person today defends war. It is in itself synonymous with aggression. Even wars of defense.

Indians do not depend upon such logic for their emancipation. The country is theirs. On account of the superior diplomacy of the Europeans coming at a time when their national virtues and ideals and vigor had fallen low, India passed on to England. Today, the Indians have reinvigorated themselves and, pleading neither fitness nor uniqueness of virtue or culture they are demanding simply their right. At this stage Indians cannot entirely welcome even a friendly gesture like Mr. Sunderland's.

The book will undoubtedly help to dispel the doubts of those who are still pro-Mayo, and those who take pride in knowing a subject fully cannot but be thankful to Mr. Sunderland for his painstaking work. If revised, reducing the unnecessary bulk caused by a repetitious and uncouth style, the book might have a permanent value. Much labor and more love have gone into the writing of it, but the tone throughout is apologetic, as if the author were attempting to persuade the Cabots and Lowells to shake hands with India. In keeping with this tone is the photograph of a group of westernized Parsi maidens with their Irene Bordoni coiffure. Mr. Sunderland hopes that by the Europeanness of their appearance, the West will think better of them. Of our evils we are ashamed, but not of our native characteristics.

In the circumstances, I have to reserve my praise for Mr. H. G. Alexander's book *The Indian Ferment*. In three months he has managed to visit the right places, meet the right people, and form correct conclusions. He has a sense of humor, but is apt to feel that the destinies of the world rest solely upon his shoulders. He exaggerates, as when he describes the boys at Tagore's school forgetting to eat on account of his presence at a meal. From my experience—in fact, I was there at the time of

Mr. Alexander's visit—those boys during meals forget everything else but their food.

Notwithstanding the tone of self-importance, the following observation of Mr. Alexander's, identical with the verdict of Mr. Sunderland's, will convey the message of his book: "And I now say, as I should not have said three months ago, that our immediate duty to India is to hand over complete responsibility for the government of the country without delay." (Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop: *After Mother India,* Harcourt, Brace and Co. $3.50; *India in Bondage,* Lewis Copeland Co. $4.00; *The Indian Ferment.* William and Norgats. $2.00.)

J. VIJAYA-TUNGA

## India's Crisis

*INDIA'S POLITICAL CRISIS,* by William I. Hull, published in the Johns Hopkins University Studies Series (New Series No. 7), comes out at the psychological moment when every one who is following conditions in the Orient must be anxious to know what the exact meaning of the Indian situation is today. In reality, the political demand of the Lahore Congress, held in December, 1929, has followed in logical sequence out of the Congress resolution passed at Calcutta, in December, 1928. On that occasion, Mahatma Gandhi's compromise resolution was passed, whereby it was declared that unless Dominion Status was offered during 1929, the Congress would propose a resolution for complete independence and separation from the British Empire at the Lahore Congress at the end of the year 1929. The story which Dr. Hull so graphically tells, with a minutely accurate description of the whole Congress session at Calcutta in 1928, reveals to us that even a year ago the youth of the country was practically unanimous in favor of an immediate declaration of independence and was only held in check by the immense moral influence of Mahatma Gandhi himself who at first pleaded for two years' delay before declaring independence and finally agreed to the compromise resolution that the declaration should be made at the end of a single year.

Dr. Hull was evidently enabled to obtain inside knowledge of all that occurred. He was present at the sessions not only of the Congress itself, but at the very important meetings of the All-Parties Convention which finally passed the Constitution for Dominion Status that has since gone by the name of the Nehru Constitution. On the whole, the picture he gives is remarkably free from those larger inaccuracies which often are noticeable in the case of a newcomer who has to decide on the spot the proportions to be given to different contending parties. He maintains an impartial attitude toward all the parties concerned at the different gatherings, and has keen sympathy as an idealist with the impatient doctrines of the Left as well as with the more cautious doctrines of the Right. It is only in minor details that the book is defective —such as the inaccurate spelling of Indian proper names and some of the facts regarding the historical situation in the past. One example of the latter kind (which should immediately be removed in a second edition) is the strange statement on the very first page: "The Mohammedan conquest of three centuries ago." It is extremely difficult to know what was in Dr. Hull's mind by such a statement, and the best way would be to omit it altogether.

The book can be strongly recommended as a valuable document on Indian affairs today, written at the very centre of the struggle. Dr. Hull is to be congratulated on its timely appearance. (Published by Johns Hopkins Press. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, $2.00 postpaid.)

C. F. ANDREWS

## Good Cheer for Pacifists

NON-VIOLENCE as a means of asserting the right and contending for it has never been so well presented, in this reviewer's honest judgment, as in *The Psychology and Strategy of Gandhi's Non-Violent Resistance,* by Richard B. Gregg. Mr. Gregg, as many know, is a familiar observer of the Indian scene and author of "The Economics of Khaddar."

It will be good news indeed, judging from this sample, that he is at work upon a substantial volume developing in greater detail the ideas he has presented in this paper-covered booklet of 169 pages. Meantime, while we are obliged to wait, it is no exaggeration to say that any pacifist without the present booklet on his shelves and ready to his hand is like a carpenter without a T-square.

If anything has been needed to bring out the values of Gandhi's method, it has been their presentation in terms of modern western psychology. Occidentals must have things largely in their own manner, and Mr. Gregg has met them more than half way. But he uses no mere jargon, just for effect; he is widely read in the social sciences, he knows war and the ways of war, and instead of evading concrete issues he goes straight at them. His chapter heading "Non-Violent Resistance as a Method of War" will certainly startle some readers until they read him further; but one is really lifted out of his chair by the author's clear-cut logic and his irresistible way of turning against the upholders of war their own words and theories. It is a gorgeous piece of pacifist apologetics but more, a source of hope and faith in the evolution of pacifism into a widely used and generally recognized method crusading for social progress.

I dare anyone who thinks pacifist methods are vague nonsense to give this booklet a chance to work on him. And I hereby serve notice on all zealous pacifists that they have got to have this little book sooner or later, and they might just as well obtain it now. (Published in India by S. Ganesan, Madras. The World Tomorrow Book Shop will accept orders at $1.00 per copy and deliver as soon as possible.)

D. A.

## Makers of the New Asia

IF the history of nations is the biography of their great men, Josef W. Hall's *Eminent Asians* is a good example. Through the medium of six biographical sketches Mr. Hall—or, to use his better known platform name, Upton Close—has interpreted contemporary events in China, Japan, Turkey, India, and Russia more effectively than syllabus or source-book could possibly do. He has given coherence and reality to a group of world figures which, for most Americans, if they existed at all, have been merely the distorted bogeys of Associated Press or Pathe news releases.

Why Russia? The answer to this natural question is possibly the most interesting and provocative thesis that emerges from Mr. Close's book. Russia, he contends, owes more historically, traditionally, and culturally to Asia than to Europe, and her espousal of communism is in complete harmony with her Oriental heritage. The evidence Mr. Close introduces in tracing the career of Josef Stalin, the Asiatic Georgian, and his triumph over Trotsky makes the argument a plausible one.

To the American reader China's dramatic travail of the last few decades becomes more understandable in the light of Sun Yat-Sen, first graduate of modern medicine in his country, moving

it of the Chinese revolution, and father of the Chinese republ- Likewise, Mr. Close's detailed examination of Yamagata and Japanese rivals and contemporaries, the one a Bismarck, the r a liberal if often misguided statesman, furnishes genuine int into the rise of modern Japan.

erhaps the most vivid portraits in the gallery are those of stapha Kemal, about whom so little actual information has colated to the outside world, and Gandhi, whose singular career olitical and spiritual leader of India has been widely if often sationally advertised. The fact that these men, like Stalin, still living has undoubtedly contributed to their biographer's cess. Strange as it may seem, Mr. Close sees in these two parate figures one common trait: a sedulous devotion, in each , to the welfare and enlightenment of his people that includes taint of personal triumph or selfish aggrandizement. Kemal, der of the Nationalist party and first president of republican rkey, has in the short space of ten years reclaimed, transformed, modernized his country so that it will never again be the k man of Europe." And if some of his methods have seemed ngerously autocratic, his strategy suspiciously Machiavellian, has, nevertheless, deserved praise for his enterprise, his initia-, and his indomitable courage in guiding Turkey's efforts to ow off the shackles of medievalism.

As for Gandhi—few writers have given us as skillful an interitation of the Mahatma as has Mr. Close. He has pictured the stle of non-violence not so much with customary sentimental onium, but rather in the clear light of objective achievement— remarkable influence in India, the impact of his semi-mystical chings upon cold, Anglo-western civilization, his appealing ategy of love. Nor does Mr. Close approach his hero with fatuously uncritical admiration to which so many biographers victim. He unhesitatingly points out Gandhi's inconsistencies is support of the World War, his endorsement-with-reservans of India's caste system, and his naive trust in the eventual umph of the spinning wheel.

Altogether, an intelligent, competent book, written with symhy and understanding, and based obviously on intimate peral contact as well as diligent research. Despite minor faults— uneven style that now and then becomes journalese, and the k of an index (which would have added greatly to the book's ue)—Mr. Close's portmanteau biography is one of the best ilable interpretations of Asia's growing rebellion against the st and the personalities that have given impulse to the revolt. ublished by Appleton. Through The World Tomorrow Book op, $5.00 postpaid.) G. E. M.

## Professor of Looking Backward

THERE is an old tradition—or is it a hope—that wisdom comes with age. Bernard Shaw in "Back to Methuselah" gests that a span of life running to several hundred years would an enormous aid to groping humanity. The theory cannot be ed. Sometimes, it would seem, age brings wisdom, sometimes y folly. Surely mankind ought to be grateful to those who, er a life rich in thought and action, leave behind a final sumg up of their accumulated experience.

Consider the case of Georges Clemenceau. A life full of con-t, defeat alternating with victory, sometimes glorified as his ion's hero, sometimes execrated as a traitor and an enemy of people. After four-score years he retired in the reflection of greatest triumphs, to recount *In the Evening of My Thought* what life had taught him. He takes us over an enormous range in space and time. Anthropology, religion, history, human society, philosophy, politics all pass in review. The prophets of Israel, the philosophers of China, the sages of Buddhism, the mystery religions of Rome, the leaders of Christianity come in for discussion. Life and death, energy and power, ideals and reality are held up for examination. It is precisely the kind of inventory of life we should ask of great men.

And what is the result? What did Clemenceau learn in his varied and eventful career? Precisely nothing. In all essentials he remained mentally and philosophically at exactly the same place at which he was in his youth. Two points of view dominate the scene, precisely as they did in his youth: Evolution and Anticlericalism. He still fought Darwin's battle and his hatred for the church, for religion, for everything supernatural continued unabated throughout his life.

His social philosophy became similarly outworn. His sections on "War and Peace" and on "Peace," for instance, find their best parallel in Bernhardi. "War is the natural condition of all living creatures." Peace is a theme for the "rhetoricians," mere "bookish ideology." "Is not a good system of defense the highest security? What good is there in lying to ourselves? Why stake everything on the turn of an ideological card?" Thus on and on. The law of the jungle was still for him the rule of life. No wonder he, more than anyone else, insisted on writing a treaty so full of revenge and inhumanity as that of 1919!

France has greater men than was Clemenceau, even among her statesmen. There was a day when her schoolchildren voted that Napoleon was the greatest Frenchman. Years later they reversed the verdict and declared for Pasteur. Today Clemenceau is still hailed as a supreme example of French manhood. Before long this judgment, too, will be revised. (Published by Houghton, Mifflin. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, 2 vols. $12.50 postpaid.) H. C. ENGELBRECHT

## Religion Lends a Hand

A RECENT periodical spoke of James Myers in the southern textile strike situation as "a living symbol of the fact that somewhere in the churches there was a desire to understand sympathetically what was happening in terms of human relationships." This same James Myers, who is Industrial Secretary of the Federal Council of Churches, has written a book, *Religion Lends a Hand*. It attempts to present in popular form "a variety of material which illustrates representative activities on the part of the churches in the field of social relations." Some of the chapter titles—The Milk Shed; Town, Gown and Overalls; Down in Maine—are indicative of the sprightly style in which the book is written. The studies relate to individual churches or local groups of churches and specific projects of Christian associations. It is vivid, journalistic writing spiced here and there with a delightful touch of humor. The bibliography and directory of social and industrial agencies in the back of the volume are exceedingly valuable.

The total effect of the book will be a revelation both to conventional churchmen and undiscriminating critics of the social impotence of churchmen. If both of these groups—especially the former—recognize that Mr. Myers simply provided a series of impressive snapshots of a few religious agencies in aggressive social action, no harm will be done. One fears lest some churchmen may too quickly jump to conclusions that the church is seventy-

five per cent if not one hundred per cent awake to social problems merely because of these favorable sidelights on one of its sections. It would have been desirable in the foreword to call attention to the widespread indifference of most churches to economic and social conditions. In the light of the apathy of the churches in Gastonia and Marion, North Carolina—not to mention New York, Chicago and Los Angeles—it would be unfortunate for this book to give an impression that even a large minority of local organized religious agencies are consistent believers in and practitioners of the religion of Jesus. In most cases it is an isolated prophet or a local, regional, or national church federation that is responsible for the pioneering reported in this book. In line with this, it is proper to note how frequently the Federal Council of Churches has some close relationship—if it is not the prime mover—in the cases studied.

Mr. Myers' study is true to the facts in giving this impression, and it is a compliment to the Federal Council. One wonders, however, how long it will be before this spirit begins to characterize a majority of local religious organizations. If this book helps to hasten that day, it will amply justify the effort that went into its making. (Published by Harpers. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, $1.50 postpaid.)

FRANCIS A. HENSON

## Art vs. Social Reform

THE title of this book, *Bow of Burning Gold,* leads one to expect that the author, E. Merrill Root, is one of the modern followers of Blake. Instead, he is a belated arrival in the Social Justice group of poets whose leading representatives were Masefield and Gibson a generation ago. In impassioned rhetoric he fulminates against the outrages of our present social order—pig-stickers in Chicago, the Sacco-Vanzetti disaster, "The massed epilepsy that is war," and finally America in general—

"End, we pray, the Golgotha
That men name America."

In all these verses the reader feels that the author "doth protest too much," that he has mistaken argumentation for poetry, that he shouts too often and too easily. Many another poet has struggled between the call of social reform and the call of art. This warfare usually sets up a strain in the poet's mind which, when given expression, is liable to evaporate in rhetoric. Mr. Root is a far better poet when he leaves the soap-box and writes a straight narrative poem as he does in *Trenton,* a graphic portrayal of a famous episode in American history. He is even more graphic in the poem *Icarus: 1929,* the story of a man who falls from a girder and dies while helping to build a skyscraper. These indicate a genuine narrative gift.

In addition to the narratives Mr. Root has an elfish, humorous vein. Here the reformer is forgotten, and quaint artist beguiles us from the chimney corner. The best of these is probably *The Cow,* one stanza of which will give the flavor:

"Her udder is a Holy Grail
Whence heroes, saints, and lovers—
Yes, all the sons of man—grow hale.
Oh, she's an ambulant Fairytale
That's bound in leathern covers!"

In spite of the title, there is little of the pure gold of poetry in this volume. Most of it is straightforward verse, verse which communicates a story, or a mood, or a fancy. Here and there one comes across a stanza which is splendid, and in almost every p there are occasional striking lines and excellent figures. But total effect is rhetorical—verse written in haste, and not aside "in the wood" long enough to mellow and ripen. Wit little more patience, and a severer self-criticism the author's volume might well be distinguished. And one cannot forget nobility of a poet who cleaves to a Whitmanesque democracy an age when democracy is sneered at. (Published by Rob Packard & Co. Through The World Tomorrow Book Sh $2.00 postpaid.)

WILBERT SNOW

## Ex-Pullman Porter

TAYLOR GORDON'S singing of Negro spirituals has est lished him as an interpreter of his race's folk music large audiences in the United States, England, and France. wishes that his autobiography were as delightfully satisfactory fulfilling its purpose.

Gordon's life has been interesting and varied; he hits the h spots in racy fashion in *Born to Be* and succeeds in presenting absorbing chronicle. Through his boyhood as a sophisticated "pa in a sporting house, his life as chauffeur, Pullman porter, chef John Ringling's private car, vaudeville trouper, and famous c cert artist, his amorous adventures, encounters with reaction Southerners, he has had many exciting experiences, and has s life reflected in a wide range of places, environments, and pers alities. Much of his own personality is reflected in his writing; has a happy flair for phrasing and rhythm, language vivid in col He has a decided narrative gift, and is charmingly spontaneo But one is at times disappointed by a theatrical, conscious naiv that is far removed from the genuine; one feels that he has oc sionally inserted a ribald experience, not because of any pecul value, but because some hearer easily amused thought it sm Gordon is much too clever not to have a sense of values, and a good trouper has his mind on the box office now and then. the purposes of entertainment this is legitimate, certainly; but autobiography such poses and tricks are merely confusing, serve to blunt the edges of his frankness. However, these minor blemishes in a book that is for the most part engaging real. The drawings by Covarubbies are caricatures in his b manner, particularly the frontispiece in colors. There is an int duction by Muriel Draper, and a foreword by Carl Van Vecht both extremely enthusiastic admirers of Taylor Gordon as artist and as a friend. (Published by Covici Friede. Thro The World Tomorrow Book Shop, $4.00 postpaid.)

COLEY TAYLO

## Are We Civilized?

ANOTHER bubble pricked! By the time Dr. Robert Lowie has compared the quaint ways of Eskimos, Aust lian Bushmen, ancient Egyptians, modern Europeans, Neand thalers and ordinary Americans in his book with the above ti remarks on racial superiority and inferiority seem distinctly out place. The only things that are clear are man's almost invi ble resistance to new ideas, particularly if they are rational o and the large part that accidents of chance as compared with liberate invention have played in the adoption of new folk w Dr. Lowie is not one to be swept off his feet by automobiles bath tubs, for he looks at the purposes for which those thi exist and finds that the same purposes have usually been achie

uite primitive people in some simple way entirely sufficient heir needs. And what more can one ask than that?

o definition of civilization is given, but one gathers that by a term Dr. Lowie would mean a society which functioned honiously and rationally in supplying the varied needs of its bers. He is optimistic enough to believe that it might pos- be achieved in ten or twenty thousand years, but he is not ful about it.

his, however, is to give an imperfect impression of the book. clusions and prophecies form a very small part of its contents, t is almost entirely made up of comparative case studies of the s of various groups of people. The book documents James vey Robinson's point that what we call modern civilization recent and thin a veneer upon the scores of thousands of years has existed that it is no wonder the old savage still domi- s. What Dr. Lowie does, after citing the customs of primi- and modern groups from all over the world, is to remind us hrases which sometimes suggest the sly innuendo of Thorstein len, that "The Colonel's lady and Judy O'Grady are sisters er the skin." One is tempted to add, "And how!" (Pub- d by Harcourt Brace & Co. Through The World Tomorrow Shop, $3.00 postpaid.) PAUL JONES.

## WE RECOMMEND

*ress and Poverty, by Henry George. Robert Schalkenbach oundation. 571 pages. $1.00.* An inexpensive, readable, and ell-bound unabridged reprint of the great classic. The Fiftieth nniversary Edition.

*rson, the Wisest American, by Phillips Russell. Brentano. 0 pages. $5.00.* A clear and informing, if somewhat sedate, ography of a wise, if not the wisest American. As usual, s interest in peace and the peace movement is neglected as kewise its collapse in the Civil War.

*e and Marriage, by Winfield Scott Hall. John C. Winston o. 363 pages. $2.00.* One of the clearest, sanest, and most orough books we have seen on this subject. Dr. Hall is odern and advanced, yet balanced and not without ideals. Many a family circle, prospective or de facto, would profit having this book at hand.

*entieth Century Love Poems, compiled by Caroline Miles ill. Willett, Clark and Colby. 218 pages. $2.50.* A col- ction of two hundred love lyrics, mostly short, mostly recent, nd mostly American. A few excerpts from longer poems, a w translations, and a number of English authors are in- uded, and the range of poetic form is wide. The variety of x sentiment is also about as wide as possible within the con- entional meaning of the term "love poems." But don't look or your own favorites there—the garden is too large to be spoiled by one bouquet, however beautiful.

*Girl in Soviet Russia, by Andrée Viollis, translated from the rench by Homer White. Crowell. 347 pages. $2.50.* A vely narrative and series of keen pen pictures by a French ournalist who spent three months in European Russia three ears ago. Leningrad, Moscow, Nijni-Novgorod, Kazan, and ie important points in the Caucasian Soviets were visited with troductions which gave entrée to important observation oints. Although in some ways the book is already slightly it-of-date, it is most readable, and the sort of understanding cture of modern Russia that Americans need in large doses.

*Science and the Unseen World, by Arthur Stanley Eddington. Macmillan. 91 pages. $1.25.* This essay elaborates the ideas this British scientist published in the final chapters of his now famous "Nature of the Physical World." Eddington, though far from accepting orthodox mysticism, suggests its validity equally with physical reality. No one scientist is writing so provocatively and thoughtfully today.

*A Short History of the Jews, by E. E. Kellett. Lincoln MacVeagh, The Dial Press. 279 pages. $3.50.* This book extends from earliest times down to the Roman period, and covers the leaders of a great people from Moses and Joshua to Maccabeus and Herod. It is written in the spirit of the latest findings of Old Testament scholarship and in the laudable hope that it may "satisfy the scholar while giving to its less erudite readers (meaning us) little that they will afterwards have, more or less painfully, to unlearn." We wish we knew the addresses of all our old Sunday School teachers!

# CORRESPONDENCE

## A Rebuke

THE reason I asked you to take my name off your mailing list is because I do not agree with your editorials. For instance, I think it is wrong to encourage Negroes to push into white churches. Let them take pride in uplifting their own race and work among themselves. Our aversion toward them is a God-given instinct to keep the races pure, etc., etc.

*Ypsilanti, Mich.* MRS. CHAS. HEBBLEWHITE

## Thanks!

ENCLOSED is a check for two more years of THE WORLD TOMORROW. It's a great little magazine and certainly is stimulating and thought provoking. I live in a household of D. A. R.'s and tight conservatives who deplore war but work for bigger armies and navies, who talk about believing the best of everyone but suspect everyone with the faintest liberal tinge of being a Bolshevik, who back inquisitions in the schools and expel (or even try to deport) youngsters with radical beliefs. Recently a child who thought no one should have more than $25,000 property was expelled for being a Red! I leave THE WORLD TOMORROW lying around in conspicuous places, hoping they will read it!

*Grand Rapids, Mich* ALICE PADDLEFORD

## How Are the Mighty Fallen!

*(Editors' Note: Many of our readers are aware that six famous ministers—Fosdick, McConnell, Poling, Cadman, Newton and Gilkey—have given* THE WORLD TOMORROW *a warm endorsement, though they are frankly not always in agreement with it. This fact has elicited the following comments in which we think our readers and the six ministers also will be interested!)*

Thanks, I can select my own reading matter. Not a name on this list whose opinion I respect. Not a man among them whose opinions can be trusted. L. HAROLD FORDE

Messrs, Fosdick, McConnell, Cadman, *et al.,* have furnished sufficient reasons why I should *not* subscribe for your magazine: namely I'm not a bolshevist in politics, nor a modernist in the-

ology. The sample I have received convinces me that the "World" is on a par with the "Literary Digest"—it gives both sides—with the emphasis on the *wrong one*. Look over your editorial list and tell me who among them could or would favor conservatism in politics or theology?

Disgustedly yours,

W. Rothwell

Just to let you know that anything recommended by those names (the ministers cited) is something I wish to steer clear of. And I know a good many Christians who feel the same way. If such leaders succeed in their destructive work, the "World of Tomorrow" will, in my judgment, revert to paganism.

Frank A. Campbell

## Zionist Propaganda

THE review of Holmes's book, *Palestine Today and Tomorrow,* by Harry Emerson Fosdick in your December issue is very fair, I think. I read Mr. Holmes's articles on Palestine in Unity, and it seems to me that he has fallen under the influence of Zionist propaganda. He appears to have forgotten that the Hebrews secured their home in the Holy Land from the original owners by the usual means of conquest—wars of extermination, cruel and barbarous. To my mind there has never been a "Chosen People." It is a piece of national egotism, a super-patriotism. It is a delusion for any people to imagine that they are the special children of the Creator. Our Christian missionaries go to other nations with a plan of salvation and endeavor to convince those races that we are the chosen people.

If the Jews want to get back to the land, and not many of them do, Russia offers them wonderful opportunities in the Crimea near the Black Sea. Some have gone there and found it a much better place than Palestine, and without the threat of war which impends in dispossessing the Arabs. The Zionist movement means more war, possibly a Holy War, in which many nations will be engaged. There would be no Zionist movement but for the whim of some wealthy Jews who do not care to live in Palestine. Mr. Holmes's "Everlasting hills"—symbols of his faith in the movement—also change, for nothing is permanent or fixed. Dr. Fosdick's criticisms are correct, according to my limited outlook.

*Muskegon Heights, Mich.* E. H. Barrett

## Seminar in Mexico

THE Annual "Seminar in Mexico" holds its fifth session in Mexico City, July 5-25, 1930. The Seminar affords an opportunity to a group of representative citizens of the United States to study the life and culture of the Mexican people. During the past four years it has been attended by educators, journalists, clergymen (Jewish, Protestant and Catholic), lawyers, and business men. The program includes lectures by the leaders of Mexican life—educational, artistic, governmental. Controversial questions are presented by spokesmen for opposing views. The Seminar is planned as an objective study of the moving forces in Mexico, and is committed to no creedal, economic or political point of view. The critical discussion centers in the round-table groups which will be led this year by Professor J. Fred Rippy of Duke, Professor Chester Lloyd Jones of Wisconsin, Mr. Carleton Beals of Mexico, Dr. Ernest Gruening of Portland, Dr. John A. Lapp of Marquette and Mr. Paul U. Kellogg of *The Survey*.

The members of the Seminar are given the opportunity to visit typical schools, villages, and archeological monuments. Trips outlying sections of Mexico are arranged for those who can ren for an additional week or two. The Seminar is a coöperat non-profit undertaking.

We will be glad to hear from men and women who are in ested in international relations, and whose professional or b ness connections give them an opportunity to influence pu opinion.

Hubert C. Herrin

*Committee on Cultural Relations*
*with Latin America.*
*112 East 19th Street*
*New York City*

## Padding the A. F. of L.

IN a December editorial, "Is the A. F. of L. Awakening," mention the overestimated membership of the A. F. of L. to the persistent padding of national and international organ tions when forwarding their monthly per capita tax. I do know to what extent this padding is practiced by the various ganizations affiliated with the A. F. of L., but in addition to th mentioned you can add the Cigar Makers International Unio America. This organization has paid the A. F. of L., since May, a monthly per capita tax based on a membership of 15,5 and for the first five months of 1929, on a basis of 17,500, w in reality the membership during 1929 has been about 10,( You will have to put a little more dynamite or perhaps s T. N. T. into your editorials on this particular subject in or to make A. F. of L. officials do something more than "twi their thumbs at mahogany desks," make patriotic speeches, numerous resolutions and act (perhaps unintentionally) as spe pleaders for poverty-stricken protectionists.

*New Haven, Conn.* I. F

## Christian Capitalism

I HAVE read with great interest the arguments for and aga Socialism by Norman Thomas and John E. Edgerton, in y February issue, and I was struck forcibly by Mr. Edgerton's cussion of the "Religious Aspects of Socialism." It does not s very fitting for a representative of present-day capitalism to taking up the cudgels for contemporary Christianity, much less religion of Jesus as was manifested by his way of life among m The implication is that Socialism does not afford a suitable envi ment for the growth of Christianity, and that it is a positive drance to Christianity, being "absolutely incompatible." I allow the adherents of that political faith the pleasure of corr ing any errors they may find in the contentions of Mr. Edgerton.

What about the incompatibility of capitalism and the relig of Jesus? Does Mr. Edgerton mean to infer that capital affords an environment conducive to the growth and developm of Christianity? Or is he attempting to divert the mind from incompatibility obtaining in the capitalistic economic order un which we live at present toward that which might obtain unde different economic order? To be sure, contemporary Christia had been seriously hindered by being too closely related to present economic order. Self-interest and profits are the vital c cerns of capitalism, and these are certainly not compatible w Jesus' way of life since he was interested in the welfare and advancement of others. He said, "I came not to be ministe unto, but to minister." With a few noble exceptions, has anyone e

l a similar statement from the inner circle of big business? a I ask Mr. Edgerton what capitalism as such has done bene- y for the following: wages, hours of labor, child labor, women dustry, human waste in industry, unemployment, industrial st, profit sharing and labor copartnership, and social insur- ? Has not the progress that has been made, where any has made, been forced upon capitalism by outside pressure? hristianity today does not need the services of a system that on child labor, labor of women, unsanitary conditions, long s and very meager wages. And when the church breaks off elations with such a system it will then and there be in a ion to follow Jesus, and to teach others his way of life. I going to dare suggest a subject for Mr. Edgerton: "The Con- tions of Capitalism to Jesus' Way of Life." And may he see way clear to lead us out of the shadows in this respect.

*ringfield, Tenn.* JOHN T. YOUNGER


**OUR INDIAN NUMBER**

Why not send for additional copies of this issue? Clubs, schools, churches, and individuals will find it invaluable for reference purposes.

*Special Bundle Order Rate, 10 copies for $1.00*

THE WORLD TOMORROW

52 Vanderbilt Avenue New York City

PEACE AND SERVICE COMMITTEE, Philadelphia.

Yearly Meeting of Friends (Race St.)

Represents a Religious Society which adds to an historic stand gainst the whole war system, a present-day concern for saving a ivilization from militarism and imperialism. This concern is one spect of our faith in the brotherhood of man, dependent on a Divine Father.

**THE DUANE PRESS**

*Printers of the Better Kind*

46-48 New Chambers Street New York

Phone Beekman 0139

**Chateau de Bures**

par Villennes, Seine-et-Oise

17 MILES FROM PARIS, FRANCE

Country Boarding School

To Prepare Boys for American Colleges

30 acres. Own farm. New dormitories with outdoor sleeping porches. Gymnasium. Athletic fields.

Modern, Progressive Methods. Music, Art, Sciences.

French, English, and American Masters.

For information address *Edwin Cornell Zavitz, Headmaster, Chateau de Bures, par Villennes, Seine-et-Oise, France*

**BOOKS ON INDIA**

**India In Bondage.**

*By Jabez T. Sunderland* *$4.00*

This book, just off the press in New York, was published in India a few months ago. The British Government, alarmed at its wide sale, suppressed the volume and arrested its publishers. Practically all India answered by indignant protest. Mahatma Gandhi published a long article defending the book. Rabindranath Tagore, the poet, declared: "If Americans would know the true India they cannot have a better guide than this book. . . . A part of its high value is an unanswerable reply to the misrepresentation in Miss Mayo's *Mother India*."

**Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas.**

*Edited by C. F. Andrews* *$3.00*

The world's chief practitioner of the doctrine of non-violence has, through the force of his ideas, started a movement in India which is deeply affecting the whole world. To understand the "Saint of Sabarmati," read this book.

**The Case For India.**

*By John S. Hoyland* *$2.00*

The author has recently returned after more than fifteen years' sojourn in India, partly in a small town, partly in a large industrial city, and partly among villages and jungle-tracts. During that time he has been engaged in educational and relief work, and has come into intimate personal contact with thousands of Indians.

**Visit India With Me.**

*By Dhan Gopal Mukerji* *$3.50*

Mr. Mukerji shows his native land to an American friend. As they journeyed sometimes on elephants, sometimes on modern railroads, the great panorama of India spread out before them in anachronistic coloring—colossal silent temples, hemp factories filled with little children, religious bathers in the Ganges, educated and emancipated women of India in the market-places, giant sculptures in the solid rocks that have looked down upon twenty centuries. In addition to the interest of the journey in this ageless land of squalor and splendor, the reader will enjoy the sheer beauty of Mr. Mukerji's picturesque prose.

**After Mother India.**

*By Harry Field* *$3.50*

In the light of much new material, most of which is from India and Indians, Mr. Field critically appraises *Mother India*, and builds a bridge between Katherine Mayo and her critics. *After Mother India* is recommended to those who are interested in the many discussions of Miss Mayo's book and wish further facts about India.

*Order These and All Your Books Through*

**THE WORLD TOMORROW BOOK SHOP.**

*Any book in print at regular retail price. We pay the postage.*

52 Vanderbilt Avenue. New York City.

# The Last Page

EVERY so often an elderly person bursts into print with a recipe for a long, successful life. Sometimes the sage advises the use of tobacco, sometimes abstention; sometimes placidity, sometimes zestful labor; sometimes staying in one place and sometimes travel. Senator Reed Smoot is the latest to sum up his blessings, on his sixty-eighth birthday, and among other means to his successful career enumerates the following: "I am drawing dividends on the life I lived since boyhood. I've never, never drank (I hope that is a typographical error, not a lapse of grammar in the Senate Chamber, where such things never occur) liquor in my life. I've never smoked. I've always eaten good, plain food and loved work. I never was lazy and never saw a time when I didn't have plenty to do."

If there's anything in this prescription, it poses a great moral problem. I shouldn't want a child of mine to drink, and certainly not smoke to excess; I shouldn't want him to eat frilly food, be lazy, hate work, and never have anything to do. And yet if all these things would produce an adult with the opposite social and political instincts, viewpoints and habits of Reed Smoot, I don't know but what it would be worth the price. At any rate, I mean to be awfully careful about overdoing the humble virtues. Really, I am not sure but what, if the world were social and alert, it would not suppress Senator Smoot as a harmful influence. He is a horrible warning to all those who would otherwise desire to rear the younger generation in the way you might think, superficially, it ought to go.

There used to be a minister I knew in my youth, who would seize every opportunity to induce me to join his church. "Look what being a Christian has done to me!" he would gratefully exclaim, while I slipped out from underneath his friendly hand and, with cold horror clutching at my vitals, hid behind the wagonsheds.

* * *

*THE Month's Tall Talker.* Police Commissioner Grover Whalen, in an interview summarizing his first year's work: "There are no hardened criminals operating in New York today."

Well, Grover, it's not the hardened ones I worry over, anyhow; it's the soft and safe and sanctified that always bother me.

* * *

A NEWSPAPER, in reporting the efforts of our naval delegation at London, made an error in syllabication at the end of a line, and spoke of our numerous not-ables. Unconscious prophecy?

* * *

A RENOWNED minister of the United Lutheran Church didn't like the manner in which Ramsay MacDonald and Herbert Hoover spent their Sunday in the Blue Ridge Mountains. That is, not entirely. After expressing the hope he felt in those famous conversations, this pious D.D. bemoaned the fact that the two negotiators did not attend church on that Sunday morning. "We as Christians would have rejoiced," said he, "if . . . the two men had gone to God's house. . . . Maybe they prayed when they conferred. We hope they did." The Reverend Doctor's text was, "O Lord, open Thou our lips, and my mouth shall show forth Thy praise." Which was all wrong. The text should have been from Numbers XXII, 28: "And the Lord opened the mouth of ass. . . ."

* * *

THE persuasive methodology of the trained (military) n is illustrated by the following extract from the edito page of *The Army and Navy Journal:*

> We confess to a thrill of admiration for Sergeant J. K retired, of the Quartermaster Corps. He attended a mee in Washington devoted to "The Sex Side of Life," and of the speakers recited that ditty dear to the pacifist he "I Didn't Raise My Boy to Be a Soldier." Sergeant Koc more power to him—stood it as long as he could.

I doubt if the Sergeant's dislike of the ditty in questior much greater than my pacifistic own. However:

> Then he offered loud tone objection, shouted "treason" as speaker spoke of "futility of giving our boys to the army navy to be used as cannon fodder," described the orator a "bone headed bum" and invited him out to the sidewalk a few minutes' intimate discussion. We are strong for sergeant; we have felt that way ourselves when listening drenching remarks from pinks who have forgotten duty to th country.

All this, I suppose, by way of showing beyond the peradvent of a doubt that mothers would do well to raise their boys to soldiers.

* * *

MR. NELSON JOHNSON, our new Minister to Chi made a hit, and justifiably, when he arrived at Peipi He knows the native tongue, can use chopsticks, and has a ba ground of twelve years in the country. Mr. Johnson expressed hope that "the day soon would come when Americans in Ch would enjoy the same legal protection as a Chinese resident in United States." I think that's downright mean of Mr. Johns When I recall the way we treated Chinese residents in New Yo Cleveland, and elsewhere a couple of years or so ago, I for c hope that such a day for Americans in China never comes.

* * *

THE license tags on automobiles in Haiti are orange a black. The reason as given by newspapermen in o vassal state is the college loyalty of Col. Frank Evans, Princet '98. Col. Evans is one of the heads of the Haitian gendarmer Thus every Haitian native who gets honked at in traffic is e hancing the prestige, whether he knows it or not, of old Nassa The next time we get in a scrap down there and our marines sho up the obstreperous Haitians, we will have to revise the o collegiate chant of patriotism and declare they did it "For God, f country, and for Princeton." If Yale objects, however, it may possible to transfer one of those cute R. O. T. C. boys to nav duty so that next year's auto plates will bring back due glory the New Haven institution.

To my ears this sort of thing is a trifle juvenile, but I mu prefer it to the ways of the professional patriots such as the Ma vins and the Shearers, who have professional services to se Their motto ought to read, "For God, For Country, and F Sale."

ECCENTRICUS

## *In this issue read:*

Gladys Meyerand's review of "EMINENT ASIANS" by Upton Close, and decide if you would like to be guided and sponsored through Asia by its author—as a member of a selected group who take the Expedition for about half the normal cost of the travel and accommodation.

***The personnel of the fourth***

# Upton Close Cultural Expedition to the Orient

for this summer is being made up. Ask for a registration-questionnaire at once from

**$525. Everything**

**Pacific Era Travels, Inc.**
**25 West 43rd Street**
**New York City**



## Socrates in an Indian Village

By F. L. Brayne

**The evils of ignorance, poverty and superstition in India revealed in the blunt and unanswerable questions of a rude Socrates, the late commissioner of the Gurgaon District of the Punjab.**

## The Remaking of Village India

By F. L. Brayne

The results of a campaign to improve conditions in one district of India, and the means of effecting it. A new and enlarged edition, brought up to date. 20 illustrations. $1.75

## The Work of Medical Women in India

By Margaret I. Balfour and Ruth Young

*Foreword by Dame Mary Scharlieb*

An absorbing picture of India's millions of women and the customs that hamper their development, as seen by two physicians who have worked among them for years. $3.00

*SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST*

Sacred Books of the Brahmans, Buddhists, Zoroastrians, Mohammedans, Confucians and Taoists are issued in this series of 50 Sacred Books of the East, ranging from $3.50 to $8.50. Further information on request.

**OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 114 Fifth Ave., New York**



# INDIA SOCIETY OF AMERICA

(INCORPORATED 1925)

*UR OBJECT: To promote a broader, more intelligent sympathetic understanding between the peoples of India America through the study and appreciation of India's literature, philosophy and culture. To disseminate a accurate knowledge of the Hindu people, their life, s and national aspirations.*

ECTURE BUREAU: The Society has a number of kers on India. Organizations and groups planning to nge lectures or INDIA STUDY GROUPS are invited ommunicate with the secretary for list of speakers avail-, subjects of lectures, dates, etc.

NDIA'S PLACE IN WORLD CIVILIZATION: A posium by Rabindranath Tagore, Dr. Ananda Coomaramy, Dr. Louise Kueffner Avery, Dr. J. T. Sunderland, Alfred W. Martin, and Claude Bragdon. Price 35c.

---------- MAIL THIS COUPON ----------

SOCIETY OF AMERICA, Times Building, New York City

*r the 35c enclosed, send me a copy of "India's Place in World Civilization."*

*r the enclosed contribution of $1.00 (or more) place me on your mailing list receive informative literature on India and other announcements.*

*nd me/us list of your speakers, subjects of lectures, etc. We would like to ve a speaker on India in the month of .....*

*E* .....

*RESS* .....



# SEE MOSCOW ON MAY THE FIRST

The celebrations on May 1st dramatize again the events of 1917 midst renewed outbursts of enthusiasm and a glorious panorama of color and costume.

**SAIL FROM NEW YORK ON**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ST. LOUIS - | April 12th | AQUITANIA - | April 16th |
| BREMEN - | " 12th | OLYMPIC - | " 18th |
| RELIANCE - | " 15th | ILE DE FRANCE | " 18th |

or any other ship and join our party in Paris on April 26th. Members of this tour will visit the Russian theatres and universities at the time of their greatest activity.

***Write or Call for Information.***

**Amalgamated Bank, Travel Dept.**
**11-15 Union Square, New York City**

**OR**

**Amalgamated Trust & Savings Bank**
**111 W. Jackson Blvd., Chicago, Ill.**

***For Spring and Summer trips, write for Booklet "W"***

*To Understand India*
*You Must Know Gandhi's*
*Ideas and Program*

# MAHATMA GANDHI'S IDEAS

*Edited by C. F. Andrews*

This new book, prepared for western readers by a close personal friend of Gandhi, presents the leader of the nationalist movement in India largely through his own words and writings. Here you will find his own interpretation of his aims and ideals. To read this book is to understand the most powerful spiritual force in the world today.

*At any bookstore $3.00*

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
60 Fifth Avenue New York

*The Book of the Hour!*

# India in Bondage

*Her Right to Freedom and a Place Among the Great Nations*

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

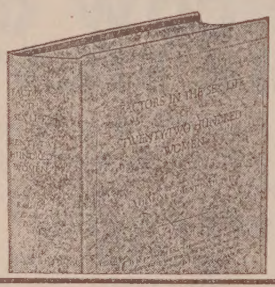
Recommended by MAHATMA GANDHI, RABINDRANATH TAGORE, C. F. ANDREWS, JOHN HAYNES HOLMES and many other leaders and students of India. "INDIA IN BONDAGE" ably presents the case of one-sixth of the human race for its national independence.

*"Militant, keen and scorching in criticism and analysis."*—BOSTON TRANSCRIPT.

556 pages, with Illustrations, Bibliography and Index
At Booksellers, $4.00—By Mail, $4.10

LEWIS COPELAND COMPANY
119 West 57th Street New York, N. Y.

. . . new facts in the field of social hygiene!



# FACTORS IN THE SEX LIFE OF TWENTY-TWO HUNDRED WOMEN

By KATHARINE BEMENT DAVIS, Ph.D.

THE CONTENTS

Introduction—Purpose—Plan of Work
I. The Background of the Married Group
II. The Use of Contraceptives, Frequency of Intercourse as a Possible Factor in Sterility
III. The Happiness of Married Life: General Factors
IV. The Happiness of Married Life (*Cont.*). The Sex Factors
V. The Background of the Unmarried Group
VI. Some Auto-erotic Practices. The Unmarried College Graduates
VII. Some Auto-erotic Practices (*Cont.*). The Married Woman
VIII. The Periodicity of Sex Desire. The Unmarried College Graduate
IX. The Periodicity of Sex Desire. Married Women
X. Homosexuality. The Unmarried College Woman (with Maria E. Kopp)
XI. Homosexuality (*Cont.*). The Married Woman
XII. The Relation Between Experience and Opinion (Ruth Topping)

This pioneer volume offers concrete factual data on the events in the sex life of normal women, supplying needed information on a topic which has long been subject for uninformed conjecture.

Under the expert direction of Dr. Davis, two groups of selected women—married and unmarried—replied anonymously to questionnaires designed to elicit information on every phase of woman's sexual life. Full data on the various periods of life, as well as on so-called "abnormal" experiences were received.

This information was first tabulated. Then comparative statistical studies were made on the most important topics. The book offers specific data on many questions like: What factors seem to enter into the "happy" and "unhappy" married life? What are the causes and extent of abnormal practices? What is the importance of sexual education, etc.?

The clear and simple treatment makes the book invaluable to social workers, physicians, parents, educators; first, in developing a saner attitude toward the whole subject; second as a tested method in throwing light on sexual maladjustments as affecting personal relations.

The *Scientific American* says: "Almost to a certainty this book will upset a number of fondly cherished beliefs. It is a thoroughly scientific record of scientific work in sociology, performed by a noted scientific authority. The discoveries recorded were based on actual data secretly obtained." For free examination, use the coupon now. Price $3.50

FREE EXAMINATION COUPON
WT 3

Harper & Brothers,
49 East 33rd St., New York, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

Please send me a copy of FACTORS IN THE SEX LIFE OF TWENTY-TWO HUNDRED WOMEN—$3.50.

☐ I agree to remit $3.50 within ten days or return the book.

☐ I enclose my check.

☐ Please send C. O. D.

*Name* .....

*Address* .....